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The National Municipal Review

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EWS for League Members

eminar for Ryukyuans

ine Ryukyuan public officials and ers visited the League's office Au- 15 in connection with the Ex- ge of Persons Program for occu- areas.

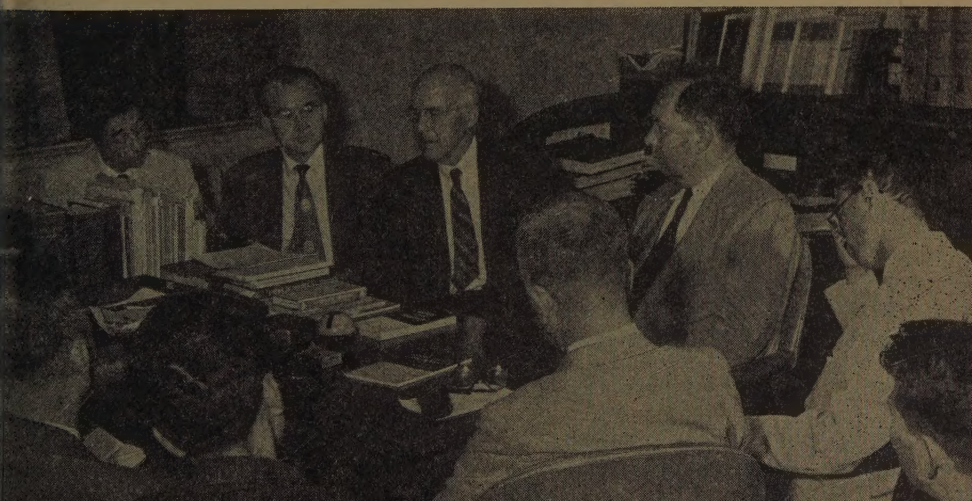
e group was one of a number from n and Germany which have at- d short "seminars" conducted by ard S. Childs, chairman of the ue's executive committee and vol- r staff member, with an assist from d Willoughby and John E. Bebout. e program, arranged by the Insti- of International Education, is de- d to show visitors how a democ- operates and the relations of the idual to government. The League cooperated with the institute in ging itineraries of various groups. cause the Ryukyuan economy is d on agriculture and fishing, the rs spent two of their eight weeks e U. S. in Maine and Rhode Island ddition to visits to San Francisco, Washington, D. C., Trenton, New Jersey, New York and Chicago.

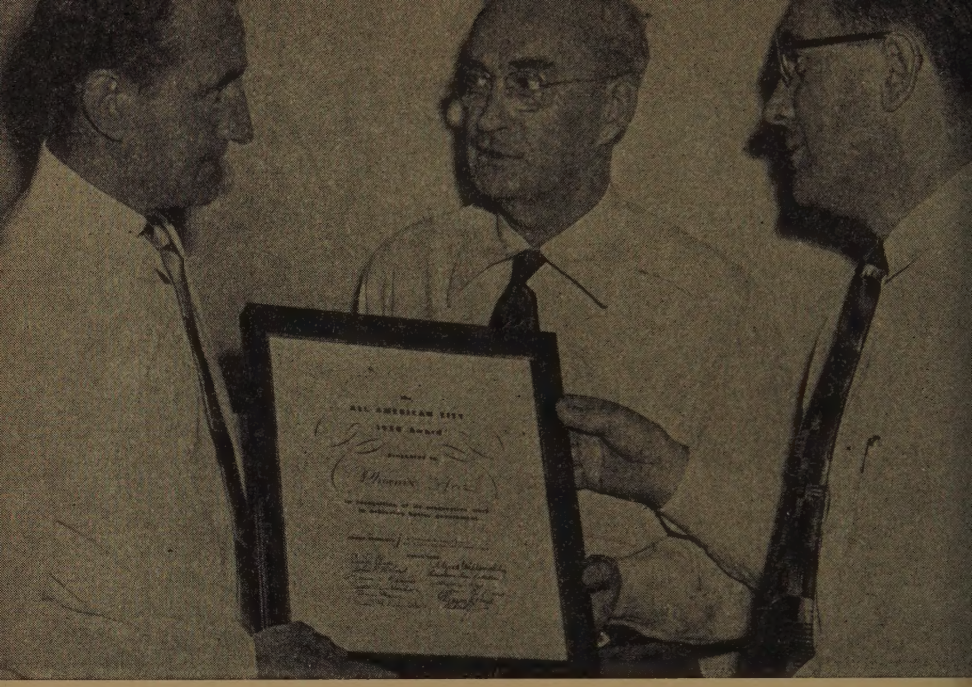
The visitors appeared to have absorbed a considerable understanding of the underlying principles of the American way of handling problems of government and citizenship. A principal problem, they indicated, was one of federalism and cooperation among the 99 Ryukyuan Islands, of which Okinawa is the largest, with some central authority still to be established and the development of responsible local government not fostered by Japanese imperial rule.

Despite the vast differences between the Ryukyus and the United States, the visitors appeared most interested in a problem which is nearly as puzzling to us as to them: how to reconcile the desire for maximum local autonomy with the fact that some communities simply cannot afford, out of local

(Continued on page 455)

ard S. Childs conducting discussion with group of Ryukyuan leaders at League e. At left is Alfred Willoughby, Executive Secretary, and at right, John E. Bebout, Assistant Secretary.





Allen H. Seed, Jr., (left) NML director of field services, presenting All Amer Cities of 1950 certificate to James A. Smith (center), president of the Pho Chamber of Commerce, and Nicholas Udall, mayor of Phoenix.

Phoenix Receives Civic Award

Honored as one of the "All American Cities of 1950," the city of Phoenix, Arizona, received a certificate August 6 from the National Municipal League and the *Minneapolis Sunday Tribune*, joint sponsors of the award.

The presentation was made by Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services for the League, at a luncheon attended by leading officials and citizens.

Explaining that the award was made on the basis of progress achieved through intelligent citizen action, Mr. Seed paid tribute to an alert citizenry that first adopted a sound city charter, then chose a city council dedicated to making it work. He warned that only an alert citizenry is a guarantee of good government and expressed the opinion that a current proposal to return ward election of councilmen wo tend to undermine the city's impro government.

In accepting the scroll, Mayor N olas Udall commented that he ho the city council and the citizens Phoenix would heed Mr. Seed's warn The council has since consented to for reelection next November.

"In the final analysis it was people of Phoenix who were honore the luncheon sponsored by the Ch ber of Commerce," said *The Pho Gazette* editorially. "If they ha taken decisive action at the polls, city would still be ruled by the of government which since 1914 averaged one new city manager a ye

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Editorial Comment

State and Local Government Is Big Business

STATE and local governments are spending at least two and a half times as much as the federal government for domestic civil purposes. In other words, they are directly responsible for more than two-thirds of the bill for the internal government of the country.

For the last three years they have spent more than half as much as the federal government's total expenditures, *even including* war- and defense-connected expenditures, which account for at least 80 per cent of the federal budgets.

	Federal Revenues[a]	*State-local Revenues*[b]
1949	$36,801,000,000	$19,814,000,000
1950	36,256,000,000	21,281,000,000
1951	44,438,832,034	22,300,000,000

a. Exclusive of aid to other governments.
b. Including federal aid.

The figures on general revenue expendable by state and local governments do not, however, reflect the full scale of their fiscal activities. For example, "revenue" does not include money borrowed and spent currently for permanent improvements. Since general borrowing by the states in 1950 was about five times the amount spent from revenues for debt retirement, it is apparent that the money actually laid out by state and local governments in recent years has been substantially higher than the figures above.

Moreover, these figures do not reflect the activities of numerous publicly owned enterprises (local utilities, state liquor stores and highway, port and other authorities, example) nor do they reflect the ov all operations and multi-million vestment activities of various pens and other trust funds.

State and local expenditures h considerably more than doubled the last ten years. Already there at least three billion dollar budg below the federal level: New Y State, New York City and Califor

Pennsylvania is spending at rate of about three-fourths of billion a year. Chicago's six ma governments are edging toward th fourths of a billion.

Seven out of every 100 emplo civilians are on state and local p rolls. At the end of 1950 appr mately two-thirds of all civil government employees and th fifths of the monthly civilian pu payroll were attributable to s and local government. Since the ginning of 1951 the federal gov ment has been hiring additio people in connection with the defe effort but the state and local perc ages are only slightly lower as dicated by the following figures public civilian employment for A 1951:

	Number of Employees	*Month Payro*
Federal	2,385,000	$694,300,
State and local	4,292,000	950,300,
Total	6,677,000	$1,644,600,

Employment in cities alone creased from 1,155,000 in 1946 1,311,000 in 1950.

In 1949, state and local gov

nts purchased more than 7 per cent the national output of goods and vices.

It is obvious from these figures at people who want to do something out the cost and quality of governnt and its economic impact must vote a lot of attention to state and al government.

The damaging effects of bad local vernment and politics reach to ashington and impair the general lfare and even the common defense many ways. National politicians d federal officials are for the most part state and local boys graduated to Washington. It is not reasonable to expect them to outclass the *alma maters* that selected and trained them. Yet when state and local governments fail to handle their responsibilities ably and effectively, pressure increases to have the more remote and less controllable federal government step in and take on new activities. When citizens insist on good, honest, economical and effective government in their communities they set the stage for better and less expensive government all the way up the line.

'Youse Guys'

Small fry politicians (and a few big es) in both parties are saying to ch other: "Youse can count on de od people stayin' home 'lection day t den dare won't be no trouble for guys."

The records show that "dem guys" e right. For example:

Recently the basic law of our state the Pennsylvania constitution—has en changed by just one out of each a qualified voters. Candidates have en nominated in a primary by one t of every 24 qualified voters. Party mmitteemen have been elected by as v as three votes in divisions where ere were as many as 800 registered ters.

In the primary election of last ptember, huge sums of money were rrowed by the city through long m loans by vote of one out of ch nineteen qualified electors. With 1,047,000 registered voters in the city of Philadelphia, one loan carried with a majority of 271 votes. The vote was 26,312 for, and 26,041 against. Total: 52,353.

When you consider that some of the good committeemen in both parties can influence as many as 600 votes apiece, you can understand why "youse guys" had better get on the job and get your friends and neighbors interested in studying the issues and keeping a date with the voting machine in your polling place.

Otherwise, "dem guys" will continue to control the outcome of the primaries and the elections.

For further information on how you can nominate candidates for offices to be filled in your neighborhood, call or write the Committee of Seventy.

From *Civic Affairs*, PHILADELPHIA COMMITTEE OF SEVENTY.

Something Politics Needs

Weir of National Steel urges businessmen to lend the talents in public office as way to get good governmen

By ERNEST T. WEIR*

THE great problem of our time is how to arrive at a basis on which we can live in reasonable peace and security with ourselves and with the other nations of the world. Industry will have an important and perhaps a decisive part to play in the solution of that problem—but still only a part. If the men who lead industry—and by that I mean its entire management—content themselves with doing a good industrial job and nothing more, they will fall short—far short—of accepting the full responsibility which is theirs.

This great problem is essentially a political problem. Politics has become the dominant force in our lives. We see that force exerted all the way from the small village and township through the levels of the large cities and counties, the states and the nation. In the great debate over international policy, we have seen that military policy, although it may have been sound from a purely military standpoint, has had to give way before the greater weight of world political considerations—and properly so, because civilian control must always be the ultimate authority in the United States.

*Mr. Weir, chairman of the National Steel Corporation, Pittsburgh, of which he was founder, has long been active in community affairs. He is a director of the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association and of the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation and a member of the Allegheny County Civic Club. This article is part of an address by Mr. Weir before the National Association of Purchasing Agents in June.

Politics today determines wh shall be produced and who sha produce it; what shall be consum and who shall consume it; what shall eat and wear and finally, on t great issue of war or peace, wheth we shall live or die. The politics today is a far cry from the yeste day that most of us can remember- when the main issue was which ma and party should move into the ci hall, the county courthouse, t governor's mansion or the Whi House. The issues of the past we important, of course, but even at t height of partisan emotion we kne that the outcome of elections wou not have a noticeable effect at o desks or work benches or in o homes. Those were the days wh about the only contact of the avera person with the federal governme was the post office.

Starting with World War I, ho ever, the force of politics has becor so broad in scope and so deep penetration that now it is a contro ing factor in the life of every i dividual. The comparison between t old politics and the new politics the comparison between the horse a buggy and the jet plane. Yet far t many businessmen—who apply plane thinking to their own business and who "beef" about what gover ment is doing to the country—a living in the horse and buggy days far as their own political awarene and activity are concerned. And, my opinion, it is a crying shame.

The average businessman has gott

here he is because he has more than erage ability. He has the mental pacity for factual analysis that ds to sound conclusions and right tions. Obviously, his batting erage has to be pretty good to keep n moving up—or at least keep him here he is. These talents are exactly e ones that must be applied to litical activity if the tremendous wer now contained in it is not to come an actual danger to the wel-e of the people of this country.

Using Their Talents

Why should businessmen withhold ir talents from politics? What is it at makes these men, who are so con-ous of their responsibility in their n jobs, think that they can shrug their political obligations? Many them do not even vote. And as for y more active participation, the sponse of the great majority is, hat's not my game; that's for the litician." The truth is, that the erage businessman is a political uter because politics is a strange ld to him, because he begrudges e time and effort he would have to ve to it and because he has the idea at the public is "anti-business" d thinks the safest thing to do is y in his shell. And, in my opinion, ne of these reasons is valid.

Political influence is influence with ople. There is not a single business-an who does not have influence with any people—many more than he inks. If the great body of American sinessmen would take an active terest in politics—starting right in eir own communities and their own ates—they could be one of the eatest and most constructive forces in the country today. They would bring to politics the factual approach that has become a matter of habit with them in their business life. They would not be likely to become submerged in factionalism.

Their main interest in politics would be to develop practical facts necessary to secure clean and reasonably efficient and economical government. They would endeavor to get into office the kind of men who had the inclination and the ability to produce government of that kind.

I am convinced that the widespread, active and continuing participation of businessmen in the affairs of both political parties would be followed by a marked improvement in the caliber of politics, politicians and government—from the community right on up to the national level. And certainly such an improvement is a sadly needed thing today.

Often we hear the word "politics" used in a disparaging manner. It has become a "bad" word. Actually, there is nothing wrong with politics *per se*. Its simple purpose is to provide the mechanics through which a people can establish an orderly and satisfactory basis of life. Politics' evil reputation arises from confusion between the legitimate purpose of politics and the purposes of politicians. There is a wide difference.

In many cases politicians will take a stand on important matters not because of deep conviction growing out of study and understanding of those matters but simply because they think the position is the one best calculated to bring political advantage to themselves or their party. And such actions are con-

sidered as part of the game; they are brushed off as "just politics." In my book they are not "just politics," they are snide politics.

Webster defines "snide" as follows: "spurious, deceptively inferior, tricky, mean, base." This gives a wide assortment of meanings to select from. As for me, I accept all of them as applying to the kind of politics I have been talking about.

No Responsible Leadership

Political leadership is not measuring up to its responsibilities. It has been running behind the public. There is no question that there is widespread disgust among the American people with present politics and political leadership, and with good reason. They see the hopeless waste and inefficiency in government, the continual increase in the cost of government which is rapidly coming to the point where it will be simply impossible for the people to pay for that cost out of their earnings, the hidden cost of government in the form of inflation which is eroding the dollar and threatening actual financial disintegration and, finally, the complacent acceptance of downright immorality in government.

The people are confused because our leadership seems incapable of establishing an understandable and constructive policy for our country. It seems to me that the growing lack of confidence in our present political leadership is the reason why so many Americans fail to vote, even in national elections. This reaction is understandable but it is negative and it establishes conditions that are most favorable for control by smallbore, professional politicians. What most needed is a greatly expande interest and active participation politics—not a retreat from politic

All over the world there is a glarin disparity between the aspirations peoples and the actions and polici of their political leaderships. Th one thing most wanted by peop everywhere is genuine and lastin peace. The thing they dread and ha is the thought of war. We know tha is the case here. Certainly, it must b even more true in the case of oth countries—including Russia—all which have directly experienced suc terrors of war as we have not.

Yet, despite this universal desire f peace among the peoples of the worl the political leaders of the world principal countries seem entirely i capable of laying down a peacef foundation for a working arrang ment among nations. In view of thi the only alternative of other countri and our own, apparently, is again make preparations against the ou break of general war—preparatio dictated by fear, fear of the oth fellow's intentions.

The United States, as the world leading nation, bears a grave respo sibility. It should be the world great champion for peace, and should be made known as such all the peoples of the world. An in saying this, we again come ba to the proposition that this cann happen unless we have politic leadership that is capable of thinki and acting in terms of this ma nitude.

As it is, we hear too little fro our leadership that is positive a constructive. We are told that

ust prepare to endure five, ten, wenty years of tension, of expand-g government and government osts, of widening government con-ols, of high taxes, of military ser-ce for our youth, of a garrison state conomy.

Think what this will mean. It will ean that by the end of twenty ears—if it does end then—we will ave two whole generations of Amer-ans who have never had the oppor-nity to know the real America. hey will have no experience with ne real individual independence that ade this country great but, on the ontrary, they will accept as an ac-ustomed thing the detailed control er their private lives by a powerful entral government.

It is our solemn obligation to see at the America that was given to s is preserved for those who will me after us. The only way it can e lost is through bad political action. y the same token, the only way it an be preserved is through good olitical action.

I repeat what I have said before ecause it cannot be overemphasized: he only way that this country can ope with the world situation as it s today is with political leadership hat is equal to that situation. The nly way we will get political leader-hip of that standard is through alert nd determined political action by he people of this country. Business-nen have a particular responsibility o help bring this about. The capac-y for leadership they have demon-trated in building and producing nposes on them the obligation to ake the lead in preserving the funda-nental conditions that have made it possible to build and produce in the way they have.

In Russia and some other countries industrial management can do a pretty fair technical job. But that is all it can do and it must function strictly within the limits laid down by political leadership. The American businessman does not have to operate under such limits—not yet. On the contrary, he can help establish the limits of political leadership. If he fails to exercise this American birthright, is he not placing on himself voluntarily the limitations which his European counterpart must accept under compulsion? Isn't he inviting the extension of government power?

Hints for Businessmen

Now, there are a number of things that every businessman can do.

He can vote.

He can persuade his family and friends to vote.

He can find out who is really electing his community officials and his congressmen—the better elements or the gamblers, racketeers and professional politicians. If he finds it is the latter, he can join an organization formed to change the condition and if none exists he can take the lead in forming one.

He can keep abreast of important national issues, make up his own mind on them, be outspoken, and help form the public opinion that usually determines what is done about them.

He can follow the actions of his representatives and senators, let them know when he disapproves of what they are doing and—just as impor-

tant—let them know once in a while when he approves their actions.

He can refrain from seeking for his own business aid from government which increases both the cost and the power of government.

He can influence his community organizations which support the idea of governmental economy in general to support it in particular when it comes to federal spending in that community.

Any businessman who will do these things will be at least ten times as active as the present average. If the general run of businessmen did them, they would become a potent and a constructive influence. I want to say that I am not asking you to do anything that I do not do myself. I have taken a long and active interest in political matters and make no bones about it. I intend to keep on doing so. I have never thought that my position in the business world cancelled either my rights or my obligations as an American citizen.

Weirton Example

So long as his motives are right, the public not only accepts but welcomes the business leader in the political field. The closer he is to the people and the better they know him the more true this is.

For example, Weirton, West Virginia, the home of Weirton Steel Company, became a city just four years ago. It has a population of over 25,000. At the urging of many citizens, Thomas E. Millsop, president of Weirton Steel Company, decided to be a candidate for mayor. Some of his friends told him he was putting himself out on a limb. They thought it unwise and perhaps dangerous for the head of the largest company in the district to run for political office. Well, the people of Weirton did not think so. They elected him by a five to one majority. The city has since been operated on what is probably the most business like basis of any municipality in the country.[1]

Just a short time ago the primary was held in the second municipal election. Mr. Millsop was again a candidate and he received more than 87 per cent of the total votes cast. The people of Weirton know that he has only one interest in the job and that is to give Weirton the cleanest most economical government possible. And that is the kind of leadership the people want. The fact that he is the community's biggest businessman has proved no handicap at the polls.

In conclusion, I know others have urged businessmen to take a greater interest in political activity. Probably you have paid very little attention to them. I sincerely hope that that will not be the case on this occasion because in these most serious days—above all others in our history—there is so much at stake. We can only have good government through good politics. And only through good government can we hope for peace in the world. Of course, political activity takes time, takes thought, takes effort. But ask yourself seriously: Do I not owe this obligation to myself, my family, my community and my country?

[1]Weirton adopted a council-manager charter in 1947.

How to Get a New City Charter

Public relations policy of Philadelphia City Charter Commission pays off in spectacular home rule victory.

By CHARLTON F. CHUTE*

THE members of the Philadelphia Charter Commission began their rk two years ago with their friends rning them of the futility of their orts. Yet nineteen months later e voters, by nearly two to one (65 r cent), adopted the charter they d drafted! Planned public rela- ns was the key to the victory.

A definition of good public rela- ns is that it is a function of two rts: (1) doing the right thing and) telling about it. This precisely scribes the story of Philadelphia's st home rule charter.

The effort to win public under- nding and acceptance started from e day the charter commission was med. Thus the foundation for the rmal appeal for public approval as built solidly into the charter elf. It would be fair to rate writ- g the charter at about 50 per cent the job and building an attitude vorable toward adoption at about) per cent.

Frequently charter commissions ve ended their work in failure be- cause they misinterpreted their goal. They thought that writing a charter was 100 per cent of the job and neglected to do those things necessary to secure the document's adoption at the polls.[1]

Charter commissions sometimes make a second mistake in defining their goal. They say, "We are here to write the best possible charter." This can be dangerous business! The goal for most commissions should be, "We are here to write the best possible charter that we think the voters will adopt on election day."

If you say, "This is the attitude of a cynic and it will not lead to Utopia," my reply would be, "A charter commission is justified in writing a Utopian charter when it has voters that will adopt such a charter!"

There is room, however, for a different viewpoint in some communities where the existing charter is a fairly good one. A commission in such circumstances may wish to write the best possible charter, realizing that it may be defeated at the polls but that a subsequent charter along the same lines may be adopted.

Just what voters will be willing to adopt is frequently far from clear in the early stages of a commission's work. The commission members in their talks and methods of operation can and should do a great deal to

*Dr. Chute, director of the Philadelphia ommittee of the Pennsylvania Economy eague, acted as consultant to the Phila- lphia Charter Commission of which he rites. Former director of the St. Louis overnmental Research Institute, Dr. hute served also as director of the egislative Research Committee of the issouri legislature to prepare legislation put into effect the Missouri constitu- on adopted in 1945. This article is based n Dr. Chute's address before the Govern- ent Public Relations Association in ne.

[1]This was true of the St. Louis charter of 1911, which was defeated by the voters. See the REVIEW, October 1914, page 720.

raise public attitudes on what to include in a charter.

The public relations program used so successfully in winning a new charter for Philadelphia was based on considerable observation of successes and failures in other cities and states, including campaigns for new state constitutions because they are remarkably similar.

The more important background factors in the Philadelphia situation may be classified as either favorable or unfavorable.

Unfavorable Factors:

1. Futility—the belief that government in big cities is corrupt and must remain so.

2. Machine hostility—Philadelphia voters are partisans, not independents. The dominant party organization has retained power for 80 years. It was widely believed the organization would be hostile to a good new charter and that would spell defeat.

3. Philadelphia voters were said to be apathetic, particularly on issues involving good government.

4. It was said that the civic groups would not pull together.

5. Philadelphians do not understand home rule and have had no experience in how to go about getting such a charter.

6. The present charter is a good one and a new charter could not possibly correct the real problem in city government—getting honest officials.

These unfavorable factors were, to a large extent, widely held beliefs without much factual basis.

Favorable Factors:

1. By far the most important wa the series of city hall scandals whic started in May 1948 with the di covery of an embezzler in the city purchasing department and the su cide of the head of the amusemer tax division, who left a note sta ing all the men in his unit we guilty of embezzlement. In succeed ing months one scandal followe another, more embezzlements we disclosed, several extortionists we convicted and three more suicid occurred.

The earlier events led to creatio of the home rule charter commissio the later ones added emphasis an focused public attention on the in perative need for corrective measure The cumulative effect led many vo ers of the dominant party to lo faith in their political organizatio and its leaders, as shown by th party's defeat in November 1949.

Scandals Aid Charter

2. The city hall scandals provide clear evidence of the failure of th existing charter to provide saf guards. For example, the city co troller had certain broad auditin powers. A special grand jury, aft nearly a year's study, concluded th the operations of the receiver of tax had not been audited for at least fi or six years! Here was a clear breal down in financial control.

3. The personnel of the chart commission appointed by the may and president of city council, follo ing passage of a home rule act f Philadelphia by the state legislatur was of high caliber. All were of fi reputation, of recognized ability an

blic spirit and representative of e community.

The strategy of home rule is sed on the ultimate appeal to all e voters. In Philadelphia this meant million people. It calls for full d free discussion, much publicity d education and much public par- ipation. It requires the organized ort of many people of ability, derstanding and untiring energy— d it takes time. A charter com- ssion of outstanding citizens, rep- sentative of various groups in the mmunity and taking a year or so write a charter, is a "natural" for successful public relations program.

For the most part, leaders recruited re present or former officers of ups in the community—civic clubs d associations; vocational, profes- nal, business, religious, political ups; neighborhood clubs, labor ions, and so on. Over 500 such ups were active.[2]

Hearings Are Public

Shortly after the charter commis- n organized, it held a series of blic hearings once a week for about o months in three-hour afternoon ssions. To these meetings were in- ted representatives of the news- pers and leading civic groups.

It is flattering to a group and its icers to be invited to explain their int of view to the charter com- ission. Later, if the commission lopts some of the suggestions—as ey must do because nearly every- thing conceivable will be suggested—the groups will take pride in their participation.

But in educating the members of the charter commission, group leaders educate each other! In listening to arguments for opposing points of view they gain a new appreciation of the magnitude of the commission's task and the difficulty of making sound decisions on controversial issues. They become less dogmatic and more inclined to recognize the need for justifiable compromise. As the seats of the chairs grow harder they gain an increased admiration for the ability of commission members to "take" such punishment week after week.

If the newspapers think well enough of some of the comments to carry them in their columns, the authors walk with a new spring in their step. Friends and acquaintances congratulate them on the important role they are playing in civic affairs and the reading public learns that improvements are being suggested at city hall—maybe there is hope after all!

If the political leaders in the community have traditionally received group leaders with disrespect, hostility, or evident insincerity, there is an opportunity for the charter commission to show the value of a good public relations policy.[3]

So far, the leaders of the community were being educated—first, on what was needed in a new charter and, secondly, on the complexities of the job. Meanwhile the charter com-

[2] The success of the Missouri constitution of 1945 was also based on the tivity of such groups. See "How to t a New Constitution," by Charlton F. ute. The REVIEW, March 1947, page 4.

[3] Such a policy was consciously stated for the Missouri Constitutional Convention in 1945.

mission built good will for itself and made friends.

The heads of participating groups usually reported back to their membership that they appeared before the commission and presented recommendations. This educated additional people. Frequently committees on the new charter were set up to render further assistance to the commission. The matter was in many instances reported in the group's publication and so still more people learned that a good city charter was in the making—and that the commission was composed of a pretty intelligent group of sincere and hard working people.

One difficulty was that the voters were largely inarticulate in the early stages. This was demonstrated by a letter of the Greater Philadelphia Youth Movement, a group of former presidents of high school student bodies, who had discussed the need for a new city charter. The letter said:

> The question, "What method for selecting a city council would you favor under the new city charter?", was most frequently answered by these replies:
>
> 1. How do they select the council now?
> 2. What do you mean by a "new city charter"?
> 3. I don't know; what do you think?

In this situation recourse was had to the trial balloon technique. If the voters could not state what they wanted, speakers for the commission would formulate a statement of the needs and then let the voters tell where they were wrong.

Many voters expect too much in a new charter or constitution. Son look for action beyond the leg powers of the commission or co vention. Others expect perfectio Speakers explained the legal scope the project and pointed out that t charter could not be a perfect doc ment. Undoubtedly, members of t commission could point to parts it which they did not favor. T main objective, it was said, was produce a charter that would be great an improvement as fifteen ou standing citizens could agree upon.

In the early months of the co mission's life, both leading new papers published articles on the co mission and its problems which we most helpful. Reprints were ma available. Radio and televisi broadcasts were given. Local mag zines told the story.

Education in Civics

The schools did a splendid job making the charter a practical proje for education in civics.[4] The scho children took the problem hon Some asked their parents what th thought should go into a new charte One political worker announced was in an embarrassing spot becau his ward leader wanted him to he defeat the charter while his son, schoolboy, wanted him to work adoption!

When the preliminary draft w released on September 6, 1950, me bers of the commission stated th as far as they were concerned, provisions were tentative and subj to change if changes would bri

[4] See "New Type Civic Laboratory," Harry H. Shapiro. The Review, Nove ber 1950, page 501.

improvement. Again many public hearings were held, many sound changes were accepted by the commission.

By such means the commission built confidence in its work and made an impregnable case against charges of "trying to jam something down the people's throats."

Another advantage of hearings on a preliminary draft was that it forced the opposition to come into the open with its criticisms. If it failed to do so, preferring to wait for the final campaign, it was open to the charge of bad faith in that it was more concerned with the defeat of the charter than in cooperating to draft a good one.

By the time final campaigning began, the opposition found it difficult to organize for lack of outstanding leaders, good arguments and funds. It was thus forced to rely on absurdities and distortions.[5]

Opposition Forestalled

Everything that went into the new charter was carefully scanned to see what aid and comfort it might give the opposition. It was not known who would be in the opposition camp but experience showed that their arguments would not relate to the provisions they disliked but would be based on those provisions from which they thought they could make the most political capital. These provisions usually have a high emotional content—race relations, tax provisions, etc. The most important reason for the defeat of the proposed home rule charter of St. Louis on August, 1, 1950, was the wage tax provision.

Sometimes it is good public relations to insert a few words in a charter, even though they are not necessary from the legal point of view. Here is an example.

In the closing days of the charter commission's work, there was general agreement on the following wording on the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission over appeals from employees who had been dismissed or demoted: "Findings and decisions of the commission and any action taken in conformance therewith as a result thereof shall be final and there shall be no further appeal on the merits."

This was attacked by some laymen as denying to an employee "his day in court." The lawyers on the commission were quick to point out that, of course, an employee could appeal to the courts on jurisdictional or procedural ground. While this was true, the proposed charter language did not say so and was sure to be used as an argument against the charter by ignorant or unscrupulous opponents. For this reason there was added, "but there may be an appeal to the courts on jurisdictional or procedural grounds." These words were highly useful from a public relations standpoint, although contributing nothing legally.

It is fortunate that it is not necessary to develop a thorough understanding of a proposed new charter because many voters have neither the training, the time nor the inclination to master its technical provi-

[5]The opponents of the 1945 Missouri constitution were so limited in numbers that they couldn't use all the free radio time made available!

sions. The approach to such people is by means of endorsements by individuals as well as groups.

Consequently outstanding men in whom the public had confidence were selected as co-chairmen to run the Philadelphia campaign. One was a former judge, a Republican of splendid reputation who had resigned from the Municipal Court only a few months earlier. The other was a prominent and equally highly regarded Democrat, a former U. S. senator. This backing was strengthened by the endorsements of the heads of the Republican and Democratic city committees. It was also pointed out that the members of the charter commission were both Republicans and Democrats, but that in votes within the commission there had never been a division along party lines.

Influence by Endorsement

Members of the commission also helped by endorsement. The chairman was also president of city council and one of the most highly regarded men in city hall. The only woman member was a fluent speaker with a sense of humor, who had been active in women's club and church activities.

Seven were outstanding members of the Philadelphia Bar who were of tremendous importance in both drafting and public relations. Three members were prominent business men. The local head of the American Federation of Labor was invaluable in winning the confidence and support of labor. Two outstanding members representing the Negro community helped effectively among their people. A city councilman contributed his good judgment based on years of political experience.

A charter commission cannot be satisfied with merely writing a new charter. It owes to the public brief statements, in laymen's language, describing problems and the answers it proposes. Such a written statement for the 1917 charter of Boulder, Colorado, was called a *Prefatory Synopsis*. In Missouri, by long tradition, it was called *Address to the People*. In Philadelphia the commission selected what is probably the best title yet, *Report to the Voters*. It was released at the same time the final draft was filed and helped the press and public to interpret the commission's work fairly. This was only one of several printed pieces put out by the commission to explain the charter's highpoints.

The magnitude of the campaign is demonstrated by the more than 600 speeches listed in the speakers' bureau register during its last months. Toward the end there was an average of about 30 speeches per day. Much of the speaking burden was carried by the commission's executive secretary, Edgar B. Cale, and its legislative draftsman, Paul Wolkin, as well as members of the Citizens Charter Committee and of the commission.

Printed publicity materials were produced on a large scale. Some 1,250,000 sample ballots and 600,000 four-page tabloid newspapers with cartoons, called *Charter Express*, were distributed by a professional organization to each householder. Other literature included 150,000 *Philadelphia Charter Observers* distributed through the schools and the Citizens Charter Committee

00,000 accordion folders, 100,000 *e Sure To Vote On Charter Day,* 00,000 *Comparisons,* 85,000 *Report the Voters,* 25,000 *Comments of the Drafting Committee.* The commis- on realized, of course, what so any public relations specialists have mphasized for years, that there is ot one public but many publics ariously interested in efficiency, conomy, good race relations, more emocratic control, better personnel city hall, greater financial control, etter city services, a more repre- entative council, and so on.

Charter Campaign Committee

The heavy work of the campaign as carried on by the Citizens harter Committee, organized in ovember 1949 shortly after the harter commission began its work. tarting with members from about 70 rganizations, it began the final ampaign with 522 cooperating rganizations.

Under sponsorship of the Greater hiladelphia Movement, one of the ity's newer civic groups, this com- ittee set up a ward and district rganization, a speakers' bureau, a ublicity organization, and the other ampaign activities familiar to every ommunity. It had on its staff four echnicians in public relations.

The Chamber of Commerce staged rally at the historic old Academy f Music and filled it for speeches rom business, labor and campaign eaders. The president of the chamber aised $80,000 to finance the cam- aign.

The Committee of 70, a well known ocal civic group, held a successful uncheon, the highlights of which ere speeches by the titular heads of the Republican and Democratic organizations.

The Pennsylvania Economy League, in addition to supplying the consultant to the charter commission, organized a statement of facts that was distributed by many large companies to their employees and also prepared a series of bulletins analyzing certain aspects of the charter. A story on the Pennsylvania Economy League was carried by the *Saturday Evening Post* in its issue of April 14, 1951, on sale six days before the election. It contained the challenging statement that the vote on April 17 "should indicate whether Philadelphia is really awake or has merely turned over in its sleep."

The Bureau of Municipal Research, in addition to publishing charter information in its weekly bulletin, prepared a booklet analyzing the charter, which was widely distributed. The Citizens Council on City Planning alerted its more than a hundred civic betterment associations to the advantages to be gained.

The two daily newspapers, the *Inquirer* and the *Bulletin*, vigorously endorsed the charter day after day with news items, cartoons and strong editorials, while the *Daily News* covered both sides generally without taking a position. The powerful hammering of the *Inquirer* and the *Bulletin,* each having a circulation of over 600,000 daily, was perhaps the most important single factor in the campaign. Many neighborhood newspapers also helped.

It would be a mistake to assume, however, that vigorous newspaper support alone will result in adoption, as was shown by the defeat of the

proposed St. Louis charter in 1950. The campaign developed three novelties: (1) An editorial on the front page of the *Inquirer* on April 10, one week before the election, printed in blue surrounded by a red border! (2) A daily series of cartoons in comic strip form which the *Bulletin* carried on its editorial page for several weeks. This concerned a mythical Philadelphia family called "The Philbys," who discussed various charter problems within the family circle. (3) An eight-page tabloid newspaper printed for the public schools in an edition of 100,000 and later reprinted for general distribution, called the *Philadelphia Charter Observer*.

The usual last minute campaign of distortion developed but, because of the long and thorough campaign of education, it did not prove fatal.

Public relations is not the whole story. No program of publicity or other public relations techniques can bring a new charter into being unless a real need for a new charter exists.

Checklist for a Good Public Relations Program to Secure a New City Charter

1. Remember that many well written charters have been lost at the polls for lack of a good public relations policy.

2. Start the public relations program of getting understanding and acceptance when the charter commission is selected.

3. Determine from a study of the community, as well as from experience in other well governed cities, just what a new charter should contain.

4. Determine what are the favorable and unfavorable factors for the success of a new charter at the polls.

5. Develop a continuing program to inform the voters about the charter commission and its work by talks, radio and television programs, magazine and newspaper articles and other media. Have reprints available.

6. Encourage the thought that the proposed charter will be a compromise that will not completely satisfy all interests, but that it will be a great improvement over the old document.

7. To the fullest extent possible have charter commission meetings open to the public.

8. Invite and encourage individuals and groups to appear before the charter commission to present suggestions —encouraging participation by all citizen groups is important.

9. Pay special attention to the newspapers and the schools because they can be among the most important factors in success.

10. If possible, release a preliminary draft of the proposed charter for public criticism and comment.

11. Beware of wording charter provisions in such a way as to aid the opposition.

12. Allow a period of from two to six months for the final campaign.

13. After the proposed charter is filed, do not relax on the job of public education, for this is the best insurance against a last-minute campaign of distortion.

14. Secure endorsements of the proposed charter from as many groups and important individuals in the community as possible.

15. The charter commission should print and distribute a brief "Report to the Voters" in laymen's language, explaining the high points of the charter.

16. Realize throughout that your appeal is to many publics interested in efficiency, economy, better personnel, greater financial control, more effective democratic control, improved city services, etc. etc.

Threat to Responsible Rule

Intergovernmental cooperation by fraternities of experts requires stronger controls by lay officials and citizens.[1]

By JOSEPH E. McLEAN*

THE American citizen lives with a complex of governments and, ke the business or public adminis- ator, he must face the problem of pan of control." How many agents n he ride herd on at once? If he s too many governments, agencies officials reporting directly to him, finds it difficult to keep abreast policies and programs. If many sic decisions and policies are rmulated by officials remote from e electorate, representing different vels of government, the citizen nds his task extraordinarily com- icated.

Moreover, the citizen's governments—federal, state, county, municipal, school and special district—are constantly cooperating or, more precisely, parts of these governments are cooperating with their specialized counterparts in other governments. This cooperation may be healthy if conducted within a framework of responsible government; it may be unhealthy and frustrating to the citizen if conducted on a collusive basis between functional specialists at different levels of government.

These specialists are responsible ultimately—in theory at least—to the citizen. But the lines of responsibility get long and thin and tend to become tangled with one another. For example, Local Road Engineer Specialist X is indirectly responsible to Mr. Citizen through the mayor and council; State Highway Engineer Specialist Y is indirectly responsible to Mr. Citizen through a governor and legislature; and Federal Public Roads Engineer Specialist Z is indirectly responsible to Mr. Citizen through a chain of officials including at least a bureau chief, a member of the president's cabinet, the president and the Congress. Specialists X, Y and Z are well-meaning public servants; they are competent and have a sense of mission; they speak the same language and possess the power of specialized knowledge; they think they know—and sometimes they do know—what is best for Mr. Citizen;

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[1]This article is based in part upon the nel discussion of "Governments Work- g Together," a group session of the an- al National Conference on Government the National Municipal League, Buffa-, November 22, 1950. The participants cluded: Joseph E. McLean, Princeton niversity, presiding; W. Brooke Graves, ibrary of Congress; Edward W. Weid- r, Michigan State College; Edward verman, University of Virginia; Bre- rd E. Crihfield, Council of State Gov- nments; Richard M. Ganong, Federal ecurity Agency; Lewis B. Sims, Fed- al Security Agency, who acted as re- order for the session; Lawrence Pelle- r, Bowdoin College; Paul K. Morris, . S. Bureau of the Budget; Miss M. L. erguson, Toronto Civic Advisory Coun- l; Joseph L. Borda, National Associa- on of Manufacturers.

and they work together as a fraternity to see that he gets it.

On the other hand, the so-called "generalists" to whom they report—the mayor and council, governor and legislators, president and congressmen, and some top administrators—lack their specialized knowledge of highway engineering, although they may know more about some other specialties—health, education, finance, etc.—and they almost certainly know more about what Mr. Citizen wants. Nevertheless, these generalists do not get together as frequently as the specialists within a particular field, and their talents and energies must be spread thin over a wide range of problems and activities. It is consequently becoming increasingly difficult for the citizen's elected agents to stay "on top" of all the highly trained experts whom it is their duty to keep in line as servants, not masters, of the people.

Citizen and Specialists

Mr. Citizen—who should be a generalist of sorts himself—knows little of the activities of the various fraternities of specialists. The average citizen has been given some formal education about American government, but this education has tended to give him a picture of layer-cake government with federal, state, county and municipal governments, each rather distinct and independent of the other, operating in its well defined sphere. The citizen carries this stereotype in his mind when he enters the voting booth to elect state or county officials or whatever. Although the professional student of government now takes for granted the new functional or "co operative" federalism, the citizen i still adjusted to the outmoded con cept of layer-cake government.

This lag in citizen adjustment ha given professional administrators o special functions even more inde pendence of effective citizen contro than they might otherwise have an at the same time has given distinc advantages to professionally guide pressure groups whose activities when allied with those of the pro fessional administrators, may, de spite the best of intentions, ru counter to the general public interest

An essential point about the ne federalism is that intergovernmenta relations, as a term, has becom largely outmoded. The essential re lations are human—interpersonal an intraprofessional rather than legal istic or intergovernmental. Under standing of this fact is essential t an understanding of the "modern federal system and to citizen contro of it.

The long-term trends of grants-in aid and the growth of new govern ment functions reflect the inadequac of the simple federalism of 1789 t cope with the problems created b industrialization, urbanization and changing technology. The grea changes wrought by the industria revolution called for a reallocatio of old and new functions and a re distribution of constitutional power Lacking a clear-cut answer to thi need, the grant-in-aid has been common expedient. It enables a high er—federal or state—government t finance programs carried out b governments lower in the hierarch Without any change in the constitu

ional distribution of power, it gives Congress a share in determining ertain policies for state and local overnments.

Consequently, the growth of fed-ral grants-in-aid is one good meas-re of the change that has taken lace in our federalism. The presi-ent's budget submitted to Congress n January 1951 included an analysis f federal expenditures for aid to tate and local governments. The otal estimate for the current fiscal ear is $2,800,000,000—6 per cent of otal federal expenditures and 12 per ent of state-local revenues. When ne remembers that some four-fifths f the federal budget is devoted to ilitary and related international xpenditures, the 6 per cent figure ssumes a new significance in our omestic operations.

Changing Concepts

The grant-in-aid system has been fundamental factor in the shift rom a competitive to a cooperative onception of federalism. Under the ooperative conception, as E. S. Corwin has said: "The national gov-rnment and the states are regarded s mutually complementary parts of single governmental mechanism all f whose powers are intended to ealize the current purposes of gov-rnment according to their applica-ility to the problem at hand."

Underlying this conception of ederalism is the implication that ational self-government is compat-ble with local self-government and hat we are basically one people.

There can be little doubt that co-peration within the separate inter-overnmental fraternities of public health, education, highways and other fields has brought many advances both in programs and in standards of service and administrative practice. Such functional cooperation may have been necessary to counteract inevitable tendencies toward parochialism, isolationism and an exaggerated emphasis upon home rule or states' rights. Functionalism, also, may have been justified as attuned to the social strategy of an era in which our nation seemed to have inexhaustible resources, when apparently we could afford anything we wanted and we didn't have to balance one desirable service against another.

Functionalism, however, has a negative tendency—a tendency, as Roscoe Martin has stated, to intensify the schismatic aspects of our society.[2] The development of increasingly powerful and discrete fraternities in health, welfare, education, highways, etc., has created new headaches for the generalist in government—whether he be the citizen, the politician or the general administrator. All too frequently, the loyalty of the specialist is primarily to the function rather than to a general responsible authority; the administrators of one fraternity, coupled with the special clients they serve, form a combination whose special interests may be then served at the expense of the general public interest. These groups:

> Tend to include, in some way, the beneficiaries of the service, the officers and employees in the services

[2]See "Therefore Is the Name . . . Babel," by Roscoe C. Martin. The REVIEW, February 1951, page 70.

and the professional or reform group that wishes to see the service improved or expanded. These groups, variously organized on national, regional and state lines, tend to become functional principalities that rival, to some extent, the states and other geographically defined units of government. Many of them have national organizations in which the national, state and local officials concerned are united for frequent consultation and for protecting the autonomy, separateness and financial support of the function they administer.[3]

Frequently the specialists—in education, welfare or whatnot—are motivated by a desire to be free from politics and also to be free from the necessity of competing with other interest-combinations for a cut of the revenue pie.[4] Whatever the motive, one result is a strengthening of particularistic tendencies in society. Hence the paradox that cooperation among specialists within government may have a divisive, not to say disintegrating, effect on government as a whole and on society. More intergovernmental cooperation of this kind takes us farther away from desirable unity in national aims and effort.

Has there been too much cooperation, at least of the wrong kind? Should there be less cooperation and more conflict? Examples of possibly undesirable cooperation have been offered: (1) Officials may sometimes try to pass the buck (state officials in dealing with local units may claim that the federal government requires certain things); (2) Officials from different levels of government devoted to a particular service often cooperate so well that the over-all officials are left with much legal responsibility and little or no power to act (state budget officials worry about this and discuss it at the annual sessions of their association); (3) Functional cooperation sometimes results in a failure to scrutinize properly (the mutual admiration among the experts is so great as to preclude a genuinely critical approach).

Is Conflict Desirable?

On the other hand, conflict may sometimes be desirable. It has been stated, for example, that conflict produced desirable changes in federal aid programs for municipal airports and housing. Political conflict may also be desirable, that is, it may be desirable for one party to be in control of the national administration and another party in control of some state governments. Such political conflict may introduce a healthful critical influence in the formulation and execution of policies involving intergovernmental relations. In this connection, one should raise the question: Do nonpartisan elections (elections without benefit of national parties) at the local level contribute further to healthy conflict and to healthy cooperation by tending to base intergovernmental relations on the common denominator of the public interest rather than party or group interest?

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[3]Remarks of William Anderson at a round table on intergovernmental relations, American Political Science Association, December 30, 1948, at Chicago.

[4]See Victor Jones, *Metropolitan Government* (1942), page 334 *et seq.* This tendency is evident in any attempt to redefine jurisdictional boundaries.

These questions point to the urgent need to readjust our political and governmental concepts, practices and organizations so as to make responsible government, efficiency and the new federalism compatible. Since the generalists in our system appear to be in a relatively weak position as against the entrenched specialists, an obvious answer is to strengthen general government, state legislatures and chief executives particularly. This answer is frequently suggested by governors who would increase the responsibility of state governments for the administration of all federal grants-in-aid including those being funnelled to local governments. This, according to the governors, would eliminate the present by-passing of the states, and would substitute genuine intergovernmental relations for the present interpersonal and intraprofessional relations.

State Responsibility

The acceptability of this solution, however, hinges upon the answer to another question: Is state government representative and responsible enough to handle the problem of functionalism? Theoretically, if the states were organized for responsible and representative government, the problem could quickly be reduced to size because the states would be strong enough to check or moderate the results of the direct chain of loyalty that runs from the specialist in Washington to his counterpart in Squeedunk and back.

There are indications, however, that state and local governments are not at present eligible for the full responsibility they claim, whether or not extensive federal participation or aid is involved. Lewis B. Sims, for example, has pointed to one of the major inequities in the system of state grants for health purposes:

> Within any one state the crucial problem is the large city or cities. The state health department tends to limit the amount of state aid going to the large urban centers. The larger places generally have long established services, and they tend to spend more per capita than the smaller places, but the principle of doing less for these units that do more is not one that we should promote.

Urban representatives contend that the rural domination of state legislatures, the inequities in property assessment practices and the general nature of state tax and spending structures result in discrimination against urban centers and force them to deal directly with the federal government. Nevertheless, when the basic question of rural domination of state legislatures was directed to a representative of a state viewpoint, the answer was, "Leave that to the U. S. Conference of Mayors."

Before we put our trust in state government responsibility, certain changes are needed to insure responsible and representative government: We should make legislatures more representative; we should make executives more responsible; we should cut down on more or less independent or overlapping authorities, agencies and, in the case of local government, special districts.

Further necessary changes can be suggested: Improve staff arrangements for both the chief executive and the legislature at state and local

levels so that they may have information to match that of the specialist; improve the flow of public information from the responsible generalist offices of government; and provide for greater participation by citizens in such crucial operations as planning and budget-making. We need more genuine governmental public relations and less departmental and functional press agentry. And we need not less citizen participation in education, welfare and other functions but a great deal more citizen participation in over-all government.

Citizens' Role

Some communities have demonstrated that volunteer citizens and citizen committees can play a creative role in budget-making long before the formal public hearing stage when it is often too late to do more than register protests. And local planners have long since learned that their efforts are likely to be futile without the kind of citizen understanding and acceptance that can be generated only through genuine participation. State and even federal government might learn from these local experiments involving citizens in such over-all and integrating activities of government. Thus the tendency of citizens to see government in terms of pet functions or departments can, to a degree, be corrected by increasing the number of citizens who become actively concerned with government as a whole.

In addition, consideration might be given to the relation of local elections to state and national elections. Should all local elections be on a nonpartisan basis? Should they be separated from the state and national party battles so that citizens who are inhibited by the requirements of vertical partisanship can be more active and effective politically and so that local government can play its own role free of entangling party alliances?

Another line of attack is through citizen organization. We need to develop more and stronger general purpose organizations as distinct from partisan and special interest pressure groups. The generalist citizen and the generalist civic group are essential to support the activities of the generalist legislators and administrators.

A final area in which progress is wanting is cooperation *per se.*

Officials in a single functional area cooperate readily with their colleagues on other levels of government. The great need is to break down the barriers between different professional or functional groups and between the specialists and generalists. This observation applies with equal weight to the subject of central-field relations in the federal service where again functional loyalties tend to override the general interest. The need for trained generalists or for specialists with broad horizons characterizes every level of government.

Functionalism may have been the proper social strategy in the past—necessary to the raising of standards in many service areas. With mounting evidence of the inadequacy of the restraining and integrating influence of general and responsible

overnment, however, and with the minution of our resources, the time as arrived for an over-all appraisal what effect functionalism is hav- g on our whole governmental struc- ure and a further appraisal of our asic assumptions concerning popu- r control of government. The itizen votes on a horizontal area asis—although political parties are ganized on a vertical basis; but n increasing proportion of govern- ental policies and programs is ing determined in large part by nctional specialists organized on a rtical basis and remote from popu- r control.

Intergovernmental Commission

The comprehensive study of Min- sota's intergovernmental relations nder the supervision of William nderson and Edward W. Weidner ould prove most helpful in a pre- minary appraisal of this problem. he studies of the Council of tate Governments and of individual holars will also be of material as- stance. What is needed, however, a comprehensive nation-wide effort at will incorporate the research tivities of students and civic oups. The keystone of such an fort would be a commission on in- rgovernmental relations such as at proposed in Congress by Sena- r Robert Hendrickson and others. Such a commission could take a long view of the historical development of federalism, of the current practices of our government and of possible ways of reconciling functionalism with general, responsible government. Into such a comprehensive, national effort could be fitted the research activities of state and local governmental research groups and of national organizations such as the National Municipal League, the constituent organizations of the Public Administration Clearing House and others.

Through such a commission, through the continuation of such devices as the Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations, and through the growing efforts to develop generalist administrators and general purpose citizen organizations, we may make more rapid progress in developing healthful conflict and cooperation and in diminishing functional collusion and parochialism.

Without some such over-all appraisal, followed by appropriate action, we may all agree with Roy V. Peel's concluding remark in his provocative *State Government Today*: "But the outlook for really intelligent effective action in the whole domain of government is not promising."[5]

[5]University of New Mexico Press, 1948. Page 153.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Midwest Floods Inspire Cooperation

Rehabilitation Spurred by Governments and Citizens

THE rampaging Missouri River and its tributaries have provided an example of the capacity of citizens and their governments to cooperate in meeting emergencies and bringing order out of chaos—at least on a short-time basis. The July flood is claimed to be the costliest in the nation's history. It reached its greatest fury on the 13th when the usually placid Kansas (Kaw) River, swollen by 40 days of rain, poured a huge volume of muddy water into the Missouri River and submerged three industrial districts in Kansas City, Kansas, and adjacent areas of Kansas City, Missouri, across the river. The damage to cities and farms, caused by these two rivers and at the same time by other tributaries, is estimated to have exceeded three billion dollars, in Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma and Illinois.

Local, state and federal government agencies went into action to reduce the potential danger and damage and to clean up, restore and rebuild. Private citizens and citizen organizations aided the process in many ways.

A large meeting was held in Kansas City, Missouri, to coordinate the efforts of government and the individual citizen. An over-all citizens committee worked with the many government agencies that rushed to meet the relief situation. Disrupted municipal functions began to be restored shortly after the flood crisis, and a month later rehabilitation and rebuilding, governmental, industrial and other, were well under way.

In addition to governmental activities, industrial revival was aided by non-profit corporations organized by the big contractors, the CIO and the AFL with city and army engineer supervision.

A paradox of the situation was that because of too much water the people of Kansas City, Missouri, could not get enough water. The Turkey Creek pumping station was flooded, cutting the water supply in half. Sewage pumps there and elsewhere were also put out of service. Hence, although much more of the Kansas City, Kansas, area was flooded, many more people on the Missouri side suffered temporary inconvenience, which City Manager L. P. Cookingham and his aids strove to keep to a minimum. The garbage disposal plant was also flooded.

Temporary housing problems were acute in both cities, and large-scale permanent housing is being planned along with broader replanning of affected districts, including Armorndale in Kansas, and the Southwest Boulevard section of the Missouri city, where fires fed by spreading oil cleared an area of twenty acres.

The main residential and commercial areas of both cities are on high land and escaped the flood waters.

In the week following the flood Congress voted $25,000,000 for relief and increased attention was given to long term comprehensive flood control measures. Missouri and Kansas congressmen solidly urged at least the upstream storage reservoirs recommended by the army engineers to supplement the levees. Revived interest has been shown in the Missouri Valley Authority concept, similar to the TVA, for integrated control and development of the vast Missouri valley wi

he objectives not only of flood control ut also of soil conservation, navigaion, electric power for industrial develpment, reforestation, irrigation, etc.

Manager's Flood Bulletin

Correlation of activities within the ity government of Kansas City, Missouri, was exemplified and aided by a aily flood bulletin put out by City Manager Cookingham for a period, eginning July 24, for the information f the city council and other officials. his gave the day-to-day progress of ork by the city departments involved.

The city's engineers supervised the leanup operations and arranged for dditional dumps for the vast quantity f debris; keeping sewers clear and estoring the sewage pumping plants were special problems. Hundreds of uildings in the flood area were inspected, including walls, plumbing, gas, electricity, elevators (154 were out of use), etc. Garbage collections of as much as 239 tons per day were speeded; the disposal plant resumed operation on July 28.

The water department rapidly restored the Turkey Creek Pumping station. The welfare department aided in rehousing and in salvaging operations. The health department gave as many as 6,438 immunizations in a day and cooperated in disposal of dead animals, inspection of food, spraying for mosquitoes and flies, and rodent control.

The finance department compiled data on damage to city-owned property and estimates of rehabilitation cost—needed for the Governor's Emergency Committee and to obtain federal money through the governor.

The research and budget department prepared or assisted in many reports and programs, including a community salvage program, one for grants-in-aid, one for integration of private social agencies with the rehabilitation effort, and one for permanent insurance against floods. Staff members were also sent to Kansas City, Kansas, to work with the mayor.

The city plan commission made redevelopment studies for the Southwest Boulevard area and for the central industrial district (looking to federal assistance in redevelopment under the housing act of 1949) and met with city officials, property owners and tenants to cooperate in establishing a redevelopment program.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Ogden, Utah, (1950 population 56,910) on June 29 adopted by about three to two a home rule charter providing for the council-manager plan, to become effective this fall. Some 8,150 voters participated. Seven new councilmen will be chosen at the November 6 election—three at large and one from each of four wards. They will take office thirteen days later.

A council-manager charter for a consolidated city and town of **Norwich, Connecticut** (1950 population of city, 23,382; of town including city, 37,571) was approved by the state legislature and on August 1 was adopted at a referendum election by a vote of 6,143 to 1,995. A council of nine aldermen (six from the city district and three from the town district) will be elected in November from a list of eighteen names selected at a primary three weeks previously. Nominations are by petition of 50 or more voters, with residents of the city district voting for not more than four and those of the town district for not more than two. The consolidated municipality will be known as the city of Norwich.

The borough of **Martinsburg, Pennsylvania,** (1,557) adopted the manager plan by ordinance earlier this year.

At a hearing in **Concord, New Hampshire,** on a bill in the legislature proposing a referendum this fall on retaining the manager plan, the present council-manager government in Concord, dating from early 1950, was accorded enthusiastic support. Eight speakers, including four labor union leaders, advocated the referendum and nineteen speakers, including the mayor and five councilmen, opposed it. The latter asserted that the plan was successful and that a referendum would be a waste of money and effort and that there should be longer experience under the plan.

Rutland, Vermont, voters at a special election on June 26 defeated a council-manager proposal by 924 votes. About 3,500 of 8,600 persons eligible to vote took part in the election, which dealt also with matters of taxation and finance.

Petitions have been filed in **Lowell, Massachusetts**—the second city in that state to adopt Plan E, providing a city manager and a proportional representation council—for a vote in November on changing to Plan C, the commission form.

Petitions for a vote in December on Plan E—without P. R.—have been certified by the city clerk in **Gloucester, Massachusetts.** The city voted for Plan E with P. R. in December 1949; the vote was nullified, however, by the State Supreme Court on the ground that the legislature had eliminated P. R. from Plan E before the Gloucester election was held.

Lynn, Massachusetts, will vote on adoption of the council-manager plan at the November election. A petition containing 8,200 signatures has been certified by the election commission.

Twenty-eight engineering students from Northeastern University in Boston are cooperating with a special committee appointed by the **Scituate, Massachusetts,** town meeting to investigate the manager form of government. "Task forces" are attempting to establish comparative standards for selected town services and functions which may be applied by non-professional citizen committees.

A large majority of members of the **Pawtucket, Rhode Island,** Business Chamber favor the council-manager plan, according to ballots cast in an opinion survey.

The charter commission of **Warwick, Rhode Island,** divided four to four between the mayor-council and council-manager plans, decided to present two charters to the legislature, one for each plan. It is reported that neither charter would give the city the home rule powers authorized by the constitutional amendment adopted by the people of Rhode Island on June 28.[1]

In **Rome, New York,** a referendum on adopting the manager plan is scheduled for November.

The revised charter for **Surfside, Florida,** strengthening the position of the city manager, was ratified by the voters at a special election on July 17. The vote was 251 to 5. The charter also gives the municipality more control over financial and other matters.

Vero Beach, Florida, will vote September 18 on a council-manager charter.

Mount Vernon, Ohio, will vote November 6 on creation of a fifteen-member commission to draft a council-manager charter for submission to the voters.

In **Berrien Springs, Michigan,** the voters turned down a proposed council-manager charter 78 to 137.

Supporters of the city manager of **East Detroit, Michigan,** who has been dismissed by the city council, have started recall proceedings against the three councilmen who voted for the dismissal.

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[1]See the REVIEW, July 1951, page 360.

Assistant Director John Iglauer of the Michigan Municipal League states that in the last two years several cities with the manager plan have elected charter commissions that have drafted or are drafting new manager charters, including **Sault Ste. Marie, Big Rapids, Plymouth, Marquette, Grand Rapids** and **Harbor Springs.** The city council in **Marysville,** which has the manager plan, is planning to present the question of charter revision to the voters in the near future. The council in **Oak Park, Michigan,** which is an "unofficial" manager city, expects to present to the voters either charter amendments or a question of charter revision with the goal of strengthening the powers of the manager so that it will become an "official" city.

The Rock Island County Taxpayers' Association is strongly interested in the council-manager plan for municipalities in that county—**Rock Island, Moline** and **East Moline**—now that **Illinois** cities (except Chicago) have been given the right to adopt the plan.

In **Springfield, Illinois,** the Manufacturers and Employers Association is starting an educational campaign on the council-manager plan. The **Litchfield, Illinois,** Junior Chamber of Commerce is studying the plan. State Senator Clyde Trager of **Peoria, Illinois,** a vigorous backer of the new council-manager enabling act, asserts that Peoria is about ready to hold a referendum on the question.

Charleston, Missouri, a manager city, recently reduced its tax rate for the fifth consecutive time. It is now 1.9 per cent whereas it was 2.25 per cent five years ago, before the manager plan was established.

The referendum on a proposed council-manager charter for **San Antonio, Texas,** is scheduled for a special election on October 2.

Charter commissions have been elected in **Ennis** and **Dumas, Texas.**

Voters of **Casper, Wyoming,** on July 24, defeated a manager proposal by a 2,588 to 1,485 vote.

The city council of **Arcadia, California,** has taken the first steps toward adoption of the council-manager plan by authorizing employment of expert assistance in drafting a charter and agreeing to name a citizens' committee to meet with the council on important charter matters.

Voters of **Oakland, California,** a manager city, have adopted a charter amendment providing that the mayor be elected as such by the voters rather than be chosen by the council.

The city council of **Brawley, California,** has instructed the city attorney to draft an ordinance calling for a special election on adoption of the council-manager plan this fall. The motion was made at the urging of the Chamber of Commerce.

The legislature of **Nova Scotia** has enacted a bill authorizing the council of the city of **Halifax** to appoint a city manager.

The International City Managers' Association reports that at the end of its fiscal year, June 30, 1951, there were "1,037 council-manager places, including 39 cities outside the continental United States. Only one city (Cincinnati) over 500,000 has the council-manager plan; 29 cities, or 33 per cent, in the 100-500,000 population group; 37 per cent of the cities in the 25-100,000 group; 30 per cent in the 10-25,000 group; 20 per cent in the 5-10,000 group; 9 per cent in the 2,500-5,000 group; and 3 per cent of those between 1,000 and 2,500 are council-manager cities. The population of all places operating under the council-manager plan now totals more than 23,000,000 according to the 1950 census."

Eight Washington Cities in Civil Defense Pact

In what may be the first intermunicipal civil defense pact the Washington cities of Bellingham, Bremerton, Everett, Mount Vernon, Olympia, Port Angeles, Seattle and Tacoma have pledged one another to lend facilities, equipment and manpower in the event of disaster. Each is to furnish the others an inventory of available resources for use in civil defense. Evacuation plans will be made. It is contemplated that Victoria and Vancouver, British Columbia, will join the pact, thus giving it an international character.

Ohio Creates Records Commissions, Municipal Courts

The 1951 Ohio legislature has enacted a law which creates in each city a city records commission composed of one member of the council, one judge of the municipal court (if any, otherwise the mayor, the city solicitor, the city attorney or director of law), the city auditor and the city treasurer. The commission is given power to order the destruction of records which have been microfilmed.

Also passed was an act establishing municipal courts in some 54 cities, including Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton and Toledo.

More States Facilitate Urban Redevelopment

Seven states and Alaska have passed legislation this year enabling at least some of their cities to undertake urban redevelopment with financial assistance from the federal government, the National Association of Housing Officials reports. The seven states are Delaware, Kansas, Maine, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina and West Virginia. In addition, Indiana perfected its redevelopment law to permit Indianapolis to accept federal aid for clearing slum areas.

The Nebraska bill permits urban redevelopment under terms of the housing act of 1949 in Omaha and Lincoln, while the Kansas law is applicable to Wichita and Kansas City only. In Kansas the State Corporation Commission will control local programs. Maine's legislation pertains to Portland only.

Missouri's law permits cities with a population of more than 75,000 to set up a redevelopment agency with approval of the local governing body. This limits application to Kansas City, St. Louis and St. Joseph. A provision that would have required a two-thirds majority approval by the electorate before a redevelopment agency could be established was killed at the last minute.

Laws passed in Delaware, North Carolina and West Virginia are not limited to one or two principal cities but cover a number of smaller communities.

California League Holds Institute for Councilmen

Over 200 newly elected councilmen of California cities and some 50 other persons, including mayors and council members with prior service, heard practical and frank advice as to the duties and responsibilities of their job at two Institutes for New Councilmen one in Los Angeles on May 26, the other in Berkeley on June 6, according to *Western City*. The institutes, sponsored by the Mayors' and Councilmen's Department of the League of California Cities, were an experiment tried for the first time this year.

Kansas Training Program Produces 8 City Managers

A report by Professor Edwin C. Stene, on the University of Kansas City Manager Training Program, as

June 6, shows that of 31 students who have completed their on-campus work, eight are now holding positions as city managers and all but four or five are continuing in municipal work. Seven are serving as internes in as many cities. Thirteen have received the degree of Master of Public Administration. Interneships have been or are being served in thirteen cities in Kansas; in three Missouri cities; and in Enid, Oklahoma; Phoenix, Arizona; Lamesa, Texas; Council Bluffs, Iowa; and Pueblo, Colorado.

New Mexico Makes Changes in Pre-primary Convention Law

The pre-primary convention law adopted by the New Mexico legislature in 1949, which ran into extended controversy,[1] has been amended by the 1951 legislature.[2] Nomination by pre-primary party convention is retained for U. S. Senator, U. S. representative, presidential electors and all elective state offices except state legislative and judicial district offices. At the state convention of delegates selected for that purpose only one ballot is taken for each office unless no candidate receives 20 per cent of the vote. Those receiving 20 per cent or more are certified to the secretary of state by the presiding officer and secretary of the convention. A candidate must file a written acceptance within seven days after adjournment of the convention.

The governor's proclamation, calling the primary election for the first Tuesday after the first Monday in May, must be made on the first Monday in February. All nominating conventions must be held by the first Tuesday in March and county and district conventions must be held prior to the state convention.

Precinct, county, state legislative and judicial district candidates must file declarations and petitions for candidacy as they have done in the past unless the party organization in any county determines to nominate candidates by convention. In this event the party organization must file a copy of its rules adopting the convention method not less than 90 days prior to the governor's proclamation calling the primary election.

In the state and in counties which have adopted the convention system, candidates may also be nominated by petition. Such nominees must obtain signatures of a certain percentage of the party vote cast at the last general election for the office sought. No person is eligible to be a candidate by petition unless he has been affiliated with his party six months or more and a similar requirement holds for signers to a petition.

Candidates selected by the convention system shall be listed on the ballot as "Candidates Designated by Convention" and, following them, "Candidates Nominated by Petition."

Dorothy I. Cline
University of New Mexico

Wisconsin to Vote on Reapportionment Basis

The 1951 Wisconsin legislature took steps toward future reapportionment on an area basis as recommended by a special interim committee on reapportionment. It has provided for an advisory referendum, at the general election in November 1952, on the question: "Shall the constitution be amended to provide for the establishment of either Senate or Assembly districts on an area as well as population basis?" If the majority vote "no" on this referendum, a plan for reap-

[1] See "New Mexico Retains Primary," by Dorothy I. Cline, the Review, May 1950, page 233; "New Mexico Retains Pre-primary Convention," January 1951, page 42.

[2] Chapter 180, Laws of 1951.

portionment on a census basis, included in the bill, will take effect January 1, 1954. If the majority of electors vote "yes," the plan will not go into effect. In the latter case, according to the Wisconsin League of Women Voters, it is certain that a constitutional amendment will be prepared to change the method of apportioning either Assembly or Senate districts to include area as well as population.

Roll Call Machines Used in 21 State Legislatures

Installation of an electric roll-call machine in the lower chamber of the Maryland legislature brings to 21 the states with electric voting systems in at least one of their legislative bodies, according to the Council of State Governments. Five of these states—Indiana, Louisiana, Minnesota, North Dakota and Virginia—have the system in operation in both houses and Nebraska uses it in its unicameral body. The Maryland roll-call machine is expected to be in operation when the legislature convenes next February, Maryland being one of the ten states that hold annual sessions. The lower houses of the Illinois and Tennessee legislatures used push-button voting for the first time in their 1951 sessions.

New Jersey's 60-member legislature formerly took three minutes for a quorum call or to pass a bill. Now it is done in from 30 to 60 seconds. New Jersey benefited particularly from the speed of push-button voting in adopting its new constitution four years ago, since each bill required a full roll call. In Illinois, it was estimated that prior to installation of the roll-call machine in the House, approximately a hundred hours of each session were devoted to calling the roll. Now it can be done in fourteen hours, with an accurate count of votes and a permanent record of how members voted.

In the past it has been necessary for states to buy the machines outright but now they can be rented for use during legislative sessions. Florida is currently replacing its old roll-call machine by rental units.

Besides Maryland, states using the machines in their lower houses are: Alabama, Arkansas, California, Illinois, Iowa, Florida, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

Rhode Island Establishes State Development Council

The 1951 Rhode Island legislature has created a State Development Council to conduct economic research on possibilities for the state's industrial development, including the relation of taxation to the problem. The council is also responsible for drafting a guide plan for the state's physical development and for promoting proper utilization of natural and recreational resources. Functions now being carried out by the Port and Industrial Development Commission, as well as the planning functions assigned to the director of public works, will be transferred to the new council.

The council will have three correlated divisions: economic research, industrial expansion and physical projects planning. The economic section will accumulate, assemble and synthesize data on industrial resources, potentialities and activities in the state; study long-range economy factors related to industrial growth and trends; keep current data on taxes and their effect upon the state's economy; and conduct specific studies on or for an industry and on or for a community.

The planning division will provide information and aid to local planning zoning and development agencies, coordinate state and local planning activities and assist the new Department of Administration to prepare a capital improvement budget.

The industrial division is to cultivate business contacts, assist existing industries, prepare publicity and work with civic agencies such as the chamber of commerce.

Michigan Legislature Sets up 34 Interim Committees

The Michigan legislature has created 34 interim committees to study a wide range of state governmental problems. They will conduct investigation of administration, studying administrative rules, procedures and organization, and continuing the work of the "Little Hoover Committee" on reorganization. Unemployment compensation, mental health, crippled children, disability insurance, the work of the state sex deviate commission and other problems will be investigated also.

Committees will study financial problems, giving special attention to sales tax evasions, gasoline prices and taxes, and the revenue systems of other states and the national government, as well as numerous other subjects.

Separate Supreme Court for Delaware

A recently adopted amendment to the Delaware constitution creates a Supreme Court of three justices to hear appeals. Previously one set of six judges served in all the state courts—trial, equity and appellate—in both civil and criminal cases. When a case was appealed from a lower court, those judges who did not sit in the trial heard the appeal.

Under the new arrangement, if any one of the three judges is absent or disqualified the Supreme Court is empowered to assign one or more judges from the lower courts. Six additional judges are provided for the lower courts.

The amendment also simplifies the state's court system by consolidation of the Court of Oyer and Terminer and the Court of General Sessions with the Superior Court.

All state judges are appointed by the governor with the consent of a majority of the entire Senate for terms of twelve years. No more than two of the three justices of the Supreme Court in office concurrently can be of the same major political party.

All States Join Parole and Probation Compact

With adoption of agreements this year by the North Carolina and Texas legislatures, all states are now members of the interstate compact for the supervision of parolees and probationers, according to the Council of State Governments. This permits probationers and parolees to move outside of the state in which they were sentenced into other jurisdictions where they may have better opportunities for adjustment with full protection to society.

Massachusetts Old-age Assistance Law Not Valid

The Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts holds that the $54,000,000 old-age assistance liberalization program approved by referendum last November is null and void. The reason for the action was a defect in the summarization of the proposal as it appeared on the ballot. The proposal would have given Massachusetts the most liberal public assistance program for the aged in any state.

New Jersey Legislature Fosters Interstate Cooperation

Measures for interstate cooperation were prominent in legislation adopted by the New Jersey legislature, recently adjourned, reports *State Government*. One act authorizes the governor to enter interstate civil defense and disaster compacts. Another authorizes

construction, operation and maintenance of a vehicular bridge or tunnel across the Delaware River between Camden and Philadelphia by the Delaware River Joint Commission. This act, which prescribes powers of purchase, bond issuance and other functions, requires the written consent of the governors of New Jersey and Pennsylvania before construction begins.

A third law approves a Delaware River Basin Water Commission of three members each from New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania, to develop water resources of the basin under a compact to be entered into by the three governors.

Federal-state Welfare Relations Studied in New York

Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, acting pursuant to a law enacted by the 1951 legislature, has appointed a commission of five prominent lawyers, physicians and educators to study the problem of state welfare administration in connection with federally aided assistance programs. Last winter the state charged the Federal Security Administration with interference in state operation and with threats to cut off federal aid.

Civil Service Assembly to Meet in Detroit

The 1951 annual conference of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada will be held at the Hotel Statler in Detroit, Michigan, October 8-11. At the luncheon on October 8 Mayor Albert E. Cobo of Detroit will speak on "Government Is Business," and on the final day the luncheon speaker will be Chairman Robert Ramspeck of the United States Civil Service Commission, on "Selling the Public Service to the Public." Many concurrent discussion sessions will be held on such topics as effective testing developments, work simplification, training programs, adjusting and stabilizing public pay levels, job evaluation, labor relations and security policies.

New York City Literacy Tests for Voting Successful

A backward look over experience with literacy tests for voting in New York City brings out data not hitherto reported.

The test, devised for persons who cannot present an elementary school diploma, consists of reading a paragraph on some general subject, e.g. 200 words about Colonel Goethals of Panama, the division of New York into state senatorial districts, Independence Hall in Philadelphia, or some facts about the Grand Coulee Dam. The examinee is required to write below the paragraph answers to eight questions, the answers being clearly in sight but in different arrangement in the paragraph above.

The examination papers are provided by the regents (State Education Department) and handled by the City Board of Education. The latter uses about 1,000 qualified examiners in 350 school buildings and first voters who go to the polls to register are sent to obtain a certificate of having passed the test.

In the presidential year 1944, 201,000 took the tests and in 1948, 116,000. The percentage of failures has ranged from 11.48 per cent to 7.9 per cent in 1950, the failures not being clearly attributable to any class in the community.

The system seems to be no serious burden on the school authorities and there has never been any outspoken complaint in the press or elsewhere as to its working. The number who failed in 1950 was 3,902 which, of course, is a negligible percentage among the three million or more qualified voters.

R. S. C

County and Township . . . . Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Philadelphia Merger Goes to Voters

Albuquerque Given Green Light on Consolidation

THE Pennsylvania state legislature has passed for the second time the constitutional amendment permitting complete consolidation of city and county governments of Philadelphia. The amendment was first passed by the 1949 session. Hence it will be submitted to the voters of the state next November 6.

A similar proposal was defeated in referendum in 1937, although overwhelmingly approved in Philadelphia County, the only area actually affected.

Under authority of a 1950 constitutional amendment,[1] the 1951 session of the New Mexico legislature has passed enabling legislation permitting Albuquerque and Bernalillo County to consolidate their governments. The city council and county commissioners each are authorized to appoint seven persons to constitute a charter committee. The charter drafted by the committee must be approved subsequently by both the city council and the county commissioners and submitted to popular referendum within 60 days after favorable action by the two bodies.

City-County Cooperation Progresses

The Texas legislature has passed a law permitting counties to enter into contracts with cities and other local governments and agencies regarding flood control and soil conservation projects.

In Virginia the counties of Arlington and Fairfax and the cities of Alexandria and Falls Church have joined in sponsoring an engineering survey of sanitation problems.

Calhoun County and Anniston, Alabama, its county seat, have organized a new city-county civil service system. This is the third such system in Alabama, the others being Mobile-Mobile County and Birmingham-Jefferson County.

California Cities Lose Fight with Counties

The League of California Cities suffered its first major legislative defeat in years when the bill to require urban unincorporated areas to pay the cost of special urban services provided by the county was defeated on the floor of the Senate by a voice vote. On a parliamentary maneuver, a group of county-minded senators, assisted by the lieutenant governor, defeated the bill without most cities being able to know whether their own senator was for or against it.

In an explanation of the defeat of the legislation the league concluded: "We have no right to ask the senators to be 'city-minded' to the detriment of the unincorporated areas of the county; we do have the right to ask senators to be as much interested in and as sympathetic toward the problems of the cities and the people who live and pay taxes in them as they have been and are toward the problems of people in unincorporated areas.

"In a contest between cities and unincorporated areas, we have the right to ask for a decision on the merits, without prejudice. The creation of this attitude of mind is the problem of the cities rather than the league. A job like this must be done at home and it must be done before 1953! . . . In our

[1] See the REVIEW, February 1950, page 100; November 1950, page 513; and December 1950, page 569.

opinion there should be unremitting pressure by the cities on the county board of supervisors to correct this inequity without further delay."

Florida to Vote on County Home Rule

The Florida state legislature has passed a proposed constitutional amendment granting home rule to counties. The people of the state will vote on the measure in the 1952 general elections. It provides, in part: "The legislature shall have the power to grant to any county a charter under which it may regulate and govern itself. The legislature may provide, by general or special law, the manner in which any county may form its own charter. Any county charter may designate the name of the county, regulate the powers, duties and jurisdiction of all county officers, and designate their classes, terms and jurisdiction, and provide the manner of their selection and compensation."

This is the first move toward possible major changes in county government in Florida in more than 50 years. No significant opposition was indicated at the legislative session and the amendment is conceded to have a good chance of popular acceptance in 1952.

County Government to Be Studied in Maine

Recent efforts to improve county government in Maine have not met with much success, reports Editor Edward L. Penley of the Lewiston *Daily Sun* and Lewiston *Evening Journal*. A bill requiring county officers to file all fees was defeated in the 1951 legislature. Through the aid of the governor and legislative leaders, however, the Legislative Research Committee, appointed biennially by the speaker of the House and the president of the Senate, has had the question of county government reform added to its agenda for study during the next tw years.

Interest in the improvement o county government has been stirre by a crime probe in Cumberlan County (Portland), where a grand jur accused the sheriff of malfeasance etc and demanded his removal. The matte is now before the governor and hi council.

County Manager Proposal Dies in Colorado Legislature

A proposed constitutional amend ment to improve county government including the option of the manage plan, died when the Colorado stat legislature adjourned. The measur had passed the Senate and received a favorable House committee report, bu time for adjournment arrived before a vote could be taken on the report.

Other provisions of the proposa were:

1. Consolidation of county offices
2. Appointment to replace electio of surveyor, coroner and superin tendent of schools;
3. Abolition of fee system of com pensation;
4. Four-year terms for electiv officials; and
5. Salary scales based on countie classified according to populatio and assessed valuation.

Counties Study the Manager Plan

Prince George's County, Maryland suburban to the District of Columbia may be voting on adoption of th manager plan in the near future, ac cording to Thomas E. Latimer, presi dent of the board of county commis sioners. The board is conducting survey in order to discover method of increasing efficiency in administra tion. Simultaneously it is studying th operations of the manager plan i

neighboring Montgomery County to ascertain whether it might be adaptable to Prince George's County. Public Administration Service has been engaged to assist in the survey.

The Greenwood, South Carolina, Chamber of Commerce and the city and county of Greenwood have appointed a committee to investigate the feasibility of the manager plan for Greenwood County.

A group of citizens of Hillsborough County, Florida, also are making a study of the manager form with a view to instituting such a charter for their county.

The board of supervisors of Oneida County, New York, has appointed a "taxpayers' commission" to study the county government and recommend improvements.

Coroner Improvements Sought in Two States

The Fulton County, Georgia, Grand Jury has recommended that the county coroner system be abolished. It points to the greatly increased cost of the office during the past ten years and to the fact that the county crime laboratory in the police department is better equipped to perform the coroner's functions. Since the office of coroner is provided for in the constitution, passage of a constitutional amendment would be necessary.

The Wisconsin legislature has adjourned without passing the bill for creating a new coroner system in the state as prepared by members of the State Bar Association and the State Medical Society.[1]

Some improvement in the local situation has been developing by reason of the creation of a state crime laboratory three years ago. Since 1948 the laboratory's technical staff has cooperated on some 700 death investigation cases where there was a chance that a criminal offense was involved. The service, being available to county coroners as well as to sheriffs, district attorneys and local police, provides some of the technical services needed to balance the inadequacy in modern forensic medicine of *elective* county coroners.

A nine-point reorganization plan has been effected during the first year of the tenure of the present Orleans, Louisiana, parish coroner, according to his first annual report. The plan includes employment of two part-time pathologists, installation of a tissue laboratory under a medical technician, installation of up-to-date equipment, establishment of a coroner's commission of seventeen members, and setting up of a toxicological laboratory.

[1]See the REVIEW, June 1951, page 316.

Oregon Grange Opposes School Consolidation

The Oregon State Grange is circulating a petition to secure a referendum vote on a school consolidation law recently enacted by the state legislature. It opposes the law because it fears the consolidated districts will be dominated by city voters, despite the fact the legislature made several changes in the bill in an attempt to alleviate these fears. The referendum would be held in November 1952.

Dallas County Notes Improvements

According to an editorial in the Dallas *Morning News,* Dallas County, Texas, has been aided materially by the 1951 legislative session in improvements in its government:

1. The city and county are cooperating, for the first time, in an extensive road building program;

2. A planning law has been enacted which the Dallas *Morning News* states

(Continued on page 438)

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

French Vote under New Electoral Law

Middle Parties Favored, Left and Right Reduced

ON JUNE 17 France elected deputies to its 627 seats in the National Assembly under a new electoral law adopted the previous May 7. This law, drastically amending the P. R. law in effect since October 5, 1946, was designed to increase the representation of the middle, or Third Force, parties and to minimize that of the Communist left wing and the de Gaullist right wing.

Efforts to effect this alteration had been under consideration for about a year, and several cabinet crises occurred as a result of conflicts within the Third Force parties themselves. Although united in their objective, the several parties of the coalition government (Popular Republican, Socialist, Radical Socialist, and Democratic and Socialist Union of the Resistance) disagreed as to the method of achieving this result. Their various differences were finally resolved, and the law of May 7 was adopted by a vote of 332 to 248.[1]

A wide variety of electoral methods has been used in France. The rather frequent alteration of election practices during the years of the Third Republic, 1875-1939, undoubtedly eased the way for adoption of the 1951 changes. In use between 1919 and 1927 was a system of block voting which provided for a limited degree of proportioning under certain circumstances.

In the 1930s considerable sentiment was expressed in favor of proportiona representation and, when war broke ou in 1939, a plan for P. R. was unde consideration. As World War II ended each of the three largest parties o France expressed favor for the use o P. R. in choosing the National As sembly. Thus, there was never muc question about the adoption of P. R as the Fourth Republic got under wa in 1946. It should be emphasized tha France, sometimes cited as the classi example of the alleged weaknesses o P. R.—coalition, unstable government and a multiple-party system—neve used P. R. until 1946.

1946 Law

The form of P. R. adopted in 194 was a party list system giving eac party a number of seats in each distric in approximate proportion to the vote cast for its list. Except for seven popu lous departments, election districts con formed to department boundaries, wit a minimum of two deputies to eac department. The median number c deputies chosen from each district wa a trifle over five members. Alliance between lists were barred.

The form of list system chosen wa one of the most rigid, with no pro vision for voters to make selection across party lines and with virtuall no real means for expressing effectiv preferences for candidates within th lists.[2] The selection of party cand dates and the order of their electio was thus determined by party manage ment, not by the voters. Significantl

[1]See the REVIEW, May 1951, page 274.

[2]Preferences were allowed, one to eac voter, but disregarded unless as many a half the list voters expressed them i preference to accepting the order c nomination.

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF RESULTS OF THE ELECTION FOR THE FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, 1946 AND 1951[a]

Party	*Year*	*Vote*	*Per cent Total Vote*	*Number of Seats*	*Per cent Seats*
Communist	1946	5,489,288	28.6	187	30.5
	1951	5,038,587	26.5	103	16.5
Socialist	1946	3,431,954	17.9	103	16.6
	1951	2,764,210	14.5	104	16.6
Popular Republican	1946	5,058,307	26.4	166	26.9
	1951	2,353,544	12.3	85	13.6
Rally of Left Republicans[b]	1946	2,381,384	12.4	65	10.5
	1951	2,194,213	11.5	94	15.0
Independents, Moderates[c]	1946	2,465,526	12.8	73	11.8
	1951	2,496,570	13.1	98	15.7
Rally of the French People	1946	313,635	1.6	5	0.8
(de Gaullist)[d]	1951	4,134,885	21.7	118	18.8
Overseas Parties	1946	(Votes not available)		18	2.9
	1951			24	3.8

[a] Source of Statistics: French Embassy Press and Information Service, New York. Document No. 51, July 16, 1951.

[b] Including the votes of Radical Socialists and the Democratic and Socialist Union of the Resistance.

[c] The Republican Liberty and the Peasant and Social Action parties included here.

[d] Not organized until after the 1946 elections.

this feature, which severely limits the freedom of choice by the voter, was not materially changed in the 1951 law.[3] Party leaders, jealous of the control which this system offered, were opposed to altering it.

Does the retention of this feature in the 1951 law hamper prospects for moderating the views of the extremist parties and for improving cooperation between the center parties? When deputies owe their individual selection first to party management and not to the voters, are these deputies not virtually obliged to follow party discipline? As discipline which is enforced by party hierarchy is more powerful than that exerted by the rank and file of the voters, the rigid list feature of the 1946 and 1951 laws may increase the reluctance of deputies to accept necessary compromises and strengthen their adherence to doctrinaire party policies. Both of these factors are cited as among the causes for the sharp cleavages of French political groups into numerous parties.

This serious shortcoming of the rigid list plan would be automatically eliminated by the Hare system, which allows the voters to choose their party representatives and, by permitting voters to cross party lines, helps to remove friction between parties.

1951 Law

The major alteration to the 1946 law in the new law permits several parties to have their respective lists considered as a single list for the purpose of applying the new election rule.[4] This rule provides that any party or

[3] A change was made, however, in permitting a voter to cross out a name on his own list and substitute a name from another list. Such changes are disregarded unless as many as half the list voters make them or express preferences within the list.

[4] Another change of some importance is that vacancies are to be filled by majority by-elections instead of taking the next candidate on the vacating deputy's list.

TABLE II
ELECTION OF FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
PERCENTAGE OF GAIN OR LOSS UNDER 1951 LAW

Party	*In Votes*	*In Seats*
Communist	— 8.2	—44.4
Socialist	—19.7	+ 1.0
Popular Republican	—53.5	—48.8
Rally of the Left Republican	— 0.8	+63.1
Independents, Moderates	+ 1.3	+34.2
Rally of French People	(not organized in 1946)	

TABLE III
ELECTION OF FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
VOTES PER DEPUTY

Party	*1946*	*1951*
Communist	29,354	48,918
Popular Republican	30,471	27,688
Socialist	33,319	26,579
Independents, Moderates	33,774	25,475
Rally of Left Republican	36,636	23,343
Rally of French People (not organized in 1946)		35,041

alliance of parties which receives more than 50 per cent of the votes within the department or election district is to be awarded all the seats of that district, thus eliminating any proportioning in the district except among the parties of the winning alliance. Parties or alliances polling less than 50 per cent of the votes obtain no seats. In the event that no list or alliance of lists obtains a majority of the votes, the seats are distributed proportionately in the same way as under the 1946 law, affiliated lists being considered as a single list.

Provision for alliances and the special premium to majority alliances were incorporated in the 1951 law by the supporters of the Third Force parties because it was known that the Communists and most de Gaullists would be unwilling or unable to effect alliances.

These provisions of the new law are prescribed for all of France except Paris and some of its suburbs. While these changes offer the possibility of excluding Communists and de Gaullists elsewhere, if used in Paris and suburbs, where the Communist vote is strongest, the same provisions might act to exclude the center parties instead. Hence the retention of P. R. for the Parisian districts and its abridgement elsewhere were prescribed by the 1951 law in order to garner as many seats as possible for the parties of the middle group. That the intent of the new law was achieved is indicated impressively by Table II.

Table III reveals this same disparity between votes and seats by indicating the number of votes each party polled per deputy elected. In the 1951 elections more than twice as many votes were required to elect a deputy from the Communist party as from the Rally of the Left Republicans. About 30 per cent more votes were needed to elect a deputy from the de Gaullist group than the average needed to elect one from the center parties. The figures for the 1946 election show a much smaller range, although exact proportionality over a whole nation is never fully obtainable when many separate election districts are employed.

A stock argument used against P. R. is that it helps smaller parties unduly, causing splintering and fragmentation. In the case of France the opposite charge was made recently—that P. R. helped the larger parties, especially the largest, the Communist, and unduly hindered the small parties of the center group, which failed to poll enough votes in some of the districts to win any seats there.[5] In postwar France there has been a far greater concentration of political strength in a few

[5]Table I shows, however, that the discrepancy from exact proportionality either way was actually small.

major parties than under the various non-proportional election systems of the Third Republic.

With announcement of the formation of a right-of-center cabinet under René Pleven on August 11, it would seem that the center parties have achieved their immediate objective. This success, however, is necessarily fraught with dangers which hold implications for the future: Will this practice of gerrymandering the election system to get a particular result help set an undesirable precedent? Is juggling the election law the best means for promoting increased unity among the center parties? Will this move, if not indicative of the public will, merely postpone inevitable events? Could other changes in the election law, e.g., adoption of the Hare system, have produced beneficial effects without resorting to what amounts to special legislation?

GEORGE HOWATT
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Israel Changes P. R. Rules; Holds New Elections

Almost complete returns on Israel's second parliamentary election, held July 30, show Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion's Mapai party holding 46 of the 150 seats as in the last Knesset (parliament), with the General Zionist party coming up from seven to nineteen or twenty seats to displace Mapam (pro-Communist) as the second largest party. The latter obtained thirteen seats as against nineteen in the last election.

Since the General Zionists favor a free enterprise policy whereas Mapai has a socialist orientation and favors strict economic controls, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion is expected to meet difficulty in his effort to put together a stable governing majority.

When complete returns of the recent election are available—they have been delayed by the canvassing of the soldier vote—a summary of the elections will be given in this department.

The system of apportioning representation in Israel's P. R. party list system was slightly modified on April 12 in favor of the smaller parties. This is in contrast to modifications sometimes adopted which tend to favor the larger parties.

The system previously used, devised to give maximum proportionality on a party list basis, provided first for the determination of a quotient by division of the votes of all parties participating by a number larger by one than the number of seats to be distributed. A seat was provided for each full quotient polled by each party list, the remaining seats to be awarded by determining how many votes had been polled by each party for each seat already distributed and then awarding an additional seat to the party with the highest number, repeating the process until all seats were allocated.

The new system provides for the division of the votes by the number of seats to be distributed, allocation of one seat for each such quotient and distribution of the rest of the seats to the parties with the highest remainders. Under this arrangement, no single party could get more than one remainder seat, whereas under the system used in 1949, Mapai, the largest party, obtained three seats after the initial distribution. The vote for the change was close: 47 to 44, Mapai favoring the old system.

By agreement previous to the election, combinations of parties are to be permitted to pool their remainder votes, with a seat obtained on this basis going to the party contributing the largest number of votes.

Another change in the electoral law requires that only parties obtaining more than one per cent of the total vote shall participate in the distribution

of seats. The size of the Knesset remains at 120 members in spite of an effort to enlarge it in proportion to recent increases in the population.

Mapai at first indicated a desire to repeal the proportional representation system and substitute a single-member district system, but abandoned this idea in face of the government's argument that the forthcoming elections would be greatly delayed if such a change were to be considered in advance of the elections. As the largest party Mapai would be perhaps more likely than any other party to benefit from an election system which gives all representation in each district to the largest group.

Finland's P. R. Elections Support Government

The national parliamentary election in Finland on July 2 and 3 left the ruling coalition of Social Democrats and Agrarians in possession of a slim majority both in popular vote and in the Eduskunta (national representative body). The Communists (League of Democrats) secured seven more seats than they received in the 1948 elections but six less than in 1945. Their fairly substantial vote, however, (21.7 per cent) is not expected to have any direct political effect because it is small compared to the total showing of parties strongly opposed to the Communist policy.

A summary given in the table below is based on information provided by the Finnish Consulate in New York.

Japanese Election System Described

Elections in Japan, an English language publication of the Japanes National Election Commission,[1] de scribes the systems of elections use in Japan for various national and loca offices, together with laws setting u voting procedure, limitation on cam paign funds, etc. The illustrated tex indicates the differences between th present and prewar systems and tab ulates the results of the 1949 nationa election.

For the election of the House o Representatives the country is divide into 117 electoral districts each electin three, four or five representatives, ac cording to an apportionment fixed b law. The voters cast their ballots fo only one, writing his name on a blan official ballot. This system, known a the single nontransferable vote, pro vides some minority representation giving a group its proportionate shar if it can successfully guess its approx mate strength and divide its vote fairly evenly among the right numbe of candidates. The lack of the trans ferable vote feature of the Hare systen however, makes assurance of propor tional representation impossible. Th House system appears to follow th prewar pattern. As before, member serve for a four-year term, which ma be cut short by dissolution.

The prewar House of Peers has bee

(Continued on page 454)

[1]Tokyo, August 1950. 18 pages.

ELECTION OF FINNISH EDUSKUNTA, JULY 2 AND 3, 1951

Party	*Votes*	*Percentage of Votes*	*Seats*	*Percentag of Seats*
Social Democratic	475,951	26.7	53	26.5
Agrarian	418,111	23.5	51	25.5
League of Democrats (Communist)	387,034	21.7	43	21.5
Conservative	262,330	14.7	28	14.0
Swedish People's	137,082	7.7	15	7.5
People's (formerly Progressive)	100,328	5.6	10	5.0

Legislatures Enact Many Finance Measures

Fiscal Aid, Defense, Taxes Get Attention

REPORTS from 1951 state legislatures indicate the usual wide variety of enactments affecting state and local fiscal matters. There were few innovations, however, the bulk of the legislation relating to adjustments in existing taxes or extension of measures already on the statute books.

One of the more unusual measures was enacted in Oregon, where cities will be allowed to double their debt limits in order to issue bonds for civil defense purposes. With voter approval, the debt limit may be increased from 5 per cent of assessed valuation to 10 per cent for the purchase of medical or fire-fighting equipment or to construct air raid shelters. Oregon also set aside 5 per cent of state liquor monopoly net income for distribution to the cities on the basis of population, an aid estimated to total about $400,000.

Unusual also was an Oklahoma law establishing a legislative audit committee within the state legislative council and creating the office of legislative auditor. The committee is charged with the duty of compiling fiscal information for the House of Representatives and Senate and to "make a continuous audit and analysis of the state budget, revenues and expenditures during and between sessions of the legislature. It shall be the further duty of the committee to ascertain facts and make recommendations . . . concerning post audit findings, the revenues and expenditures of the state, and of the organization and functions of the state, its departments, agencies, boards, commissions, offices, authorities and subdivisions, with the view of reducing the cost of the state government and securing greater efficiency and economy." The legislative auditor has among his duties "a continuous selective post audit of expenditures by state departments, agencies, boards, commissions, offices, authorities and subdivisions."

North Carolina, has expanded its state aid. Cities were granted one-half cent of the state gasoline tax, estimated to amount to about $4,500,000 per year. The aid will be distributed on the basis of population and street mileage and be earmarked for street construction and maintenance.

Neighboring South Carolina raised to 30 the number of states imposing a sales tax. The tax, at a rate of 3 per cent, became effective July 1 and is reported to apply to foods but to exclude from taxation many items used in farm and industrial production.

Another new state tax was in Washington, which became the 34th to impose a corporate income tax. Imposed as a business privilege tax at a rate of 4 per cent of net income, the tax applies to all corporations and banks other than national banks.

Several states extended the taxing power of their municipalities. Tennessee authorized cities to levy a retail tax of 10 per cent on beer. New Mexico authorized cities to levy a one-cent-per-pack cigarette tax, proceeds to be used for recreational facilities for juveniles, and Wyoming agreed to rebate a new two-cent cigarette tax to the local units after deduction of collection expense. West Virginia permitted a wide variety of new local levies, including taxes on motor vehicles, domestic animals (pets) and garbage and sewer collection charges.

The impact of state legislation was not entirely to hit the taxpayer harder than before, however. Wisconsin rescinded the 25 per cent surtax on individual incomes by failing to reenact the 1949 emergency measure expiring June 30, 1951. The same legislature also rescinded, effective January 1, 1952, the privilege dividend tax passed in 1935 as an emergency measure. Dividend income, taxed under the 1935 measure at 3 per cent for corporations doing more than 50 per cent of their business in the state, will now be taxed as ordinary income. Annual yield from the repealed tax was about $5,200,000, according to the Public Expenditure Survey of Wisconsin, including about $600,000 from out-of-state stockholders.

"Good news" prospects also emanated from Massachusetts and Minnesota, where legislative committees recommended abolition of the personal property tax on household goods and various other types of domestic personalty. According to the Federation of Tax Administrators, there are now only nine states taxing household articles ad valorem.

Representative of procedural legislation were enactments by the California legislature respecting cities of the sixth class, i.e., those operating under general law rather than local charter. Sixth-class cities levying city sales taxes will now be able to enact the usual companion use tax ordinances previously denied them. New legislation also clarified the statutory $1 per $100 tax rate limit of these cities for operating purposes by removing ambiguities as to specific purposes for which additional taxes may be levied. Outside the $1 limit, in addition to bond principal and interest, are taxes for sewerage facilities, pension plans, libraries, parks and boulevards, veterans' memorial buildings and homes, museums, and flood control (storm drains).

Indiana Forfeits Federal Aid

Enactment by the 1951 Indian legislature of a law opening to publ inspection that state's rolls of benef ciaries of old-age pensions, aid to de pendent children and aid to the blin was followed July 31 by announcemer by Federal Security Administrato Oscar R. Ewing of cessation of pay ment of federal funds to the state unde the social security program. Unde United States law, state social securit plans, to be eligible for federal as sistance, must conform to certai federal standards, which include provision that the names of benef ciaries must be withheld from th general public.

Mr. Ewing, himself a native Hoosie according to the Associated Pres stated that prior to enactment of th publicity law the legislature of Indian was notified that federal grants woul have to be stopped. Governor Henr F. Schricker, a Democrat, vetoed th enactment, but the Republican co trolled legislature reenacted it ov his veto.

The state attorney general w quoted as prepared to bring suits in th federal courts at Indianapolis and Washington, D. C., to seek respective a declaratory judgment clarifying th matter and a mandamus compellin the administrator to continue the fe eral grants. Mr. Ewing stated that h administration would give all possib aid to a speedy court determination the issues.

The controversy serves to reemph size the somewhat ambiguous attitu which has developed toward fiscal a or intergovernmental payments at t various levels. Students of taxati recalled that the first large scale feder assistance to the states began in 19 when highway subventions we started for the purpose of induci the states to develop coordinated hig way programs. As the states f

mulated their state highway systems and got construction under way, they became eligible for federal assistance.

It was generally acknowledged that if the purpose for which the assistance was granted was to be realized, the meeting of stated standards as a condition of eligibility was essential. More recently, however, the expansion of intergovernmental aids, both federal-state and state-local, has included substantial elements of equalization, designed to bring performance in poorer states or local areas up to the level deemed necessary on a national or state level. There has been wide use also of intergovermental payments for revenue only, in the development of revenues collected at one level and shared with units at a lower level, because of the greater convenience or economy of collection in this manner. The Indiana case may well result in judicial determination that will clarify for student and layman alike the now somewhat dimmed distinctions between grant-in-aid and shared revenue.

Banker Loses Race with Time, Taxpayers Lose $74,000

Arlington County, Virginia, on August 8, 1951, awarded two issues of bonds to the second best bidder. The best bid had been handed in four and a half minutes after the time legally advertised for the receipt of bids and, despite the fact that no bids had actually been opened, was ruled ineligible by the county's bond attorneys.

One issue, for $2,375,000 school bonds, was awarded on a bid of approximately 2.0739 per cent interest cost, and the other, for $2,617,000 school bonds, on an interest cost basis of about 2.1349 per cent. The best, but illegal, bids had been 1.998046 per cent for the school bonds and 2.0064 per cent for the sewer bonds. Over the 25-year life of the bonds the difference in interest costs amounts to about $74,250, according to Wall Street calculations.

The story of late bids, as revealed by *The Wall Street Journal,* was one calculated to humanize the bankers in the eyes of every non-banker who has ever waited anxiously for the telephone to ring. Customarily, the actual bid for an issue of local bonds is made out at the last possible moment by a representative of the bankers and investment firms comprising the syndicate, and then delivered prior to the legally advertised time for opening the bids at the office of the clerk or other official designated to receive the document.

In this instance, the Arlington representative of what proved to be the syndicate with the highest bid was by prearrangement awaiting a telephone call from New York at 9 A.M., which would bring his group's final orders and allow an hour for delivery of the bid form to the county clerk—an ample allowance since there were only a few city blocks to be traveled. Delays in New York evidently were complicated by difficulties in getting the call through, and it did not arrive until 9:52. The bid forms were filled in a hurry, and the run to the courthouse made in record time, but not in time to get under the official 10 A.M. deadline. There seems to be an opportunity here for the lawyers to devise some extension of the right to waive technical irregularities in the case of local bond sales.

New Jersey Courts Force Personal Property Listings

Since 1945 the general tax law in New Jersey has required the abstract of ratables copied from local tax lists to contain a breakdown of personal property assessed according to four categories: household goods, farm stock and machinery, business in-

ventories, other personal property used in business (principally merchandise and equipment). It had been the practice of local assessors not to list this breakdown for each taxpayer but rather to add at the end of the tax list a summary breakdown for all taxpayers in four lump sums.

Assessments against L. Bamberger and Company, of Newark, an operating unit of R. H. Macy and Company, were litigated on the ground that they were excessive and that the statute required the assessment of each taxpayer to list separately the four categories of personal property. The department store claimed that it was entitled to a breakdown of its personal property as between inventories and other business personalty. The State Supreme Court has upheld the contention of the taxpayer.[1]

Subsequently, the taxpayer moved, upon the basis of this decision, to compel the city to re-write its 1951 personal property assessment for all taxpayers against whom such assessments had been levied. The court has granted the taxpayer's motion for summary judgment in this latter proceeding.[2]

It is anticipated by those familiar with the personal property tax that these two decisions will either result in great improvements in the operation of the tax or make it so unpopular with assessors as to bring about much needed revision or repeal.

WILLIAM MILLER
Princeton Surveys

[1] *City of Newark* v. *Division of Tax Appeals and R. H. Macy and Company, trading as L. Bamberger and Company,* Supreme Court of New Jersey, No. A-107, decided April 9, 1951 (not yet officially reported).

[2] *R. H. Macy and Company, trading as L. Bamberger and Company* v. *City of Newark et al,* Superior Court of New Jersey, Law Division, Essex County, Docket No. L-5343-50, decided June 15, 1951 (not yet officially reported).

More Penna. Cities May Tax Realty at Different Rates

The right to classify real propert for taxation ad valorem at differen rates—land on the one hand and im provements on the other—in effect i two Pennsylvania cities, has been ex tended to an additional 47 cities by a act signed by the governor in Jun The new act applies to all cities o the third class and provides that th percentage of differentiation betwee land and improvements is to be dete mined by the city council.

Pittsburgh and Scranton, the state second class cities, have been permi ted to tax improvements at half the a valorem rate applicable to land sinc 1914.

Eleven Counties Contain One-sixth Population

A recent release of the United State Census Bureau reveals that of th country's 3,069 counties there now ar eleven with populations of one millio or more and that collectively they em brace approximately one-sixth of th American people. Cook County, Illinoi leads with 4,508,792, and Los Angele County, California, also contains mor than four million persons. The re maining counties, in descending orde by size are Kings (New York), Wayn (Michigan), Philadelphia, New Yor Queens (New York), Allegheny (Penn sylvania), Bronx (New York), Cuya hoga (Ohio), and Middlesex (Mass chusetts).

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 429)

editorially is potentially the most im portant legislation ever passed for th county;

3. The county has been given juri diction over traffic control outside i corporated areas; and

4. A new, more efficient coun criminal court has been established.

Why Citizen Groups in Manager Cities?

Worcester Organization Is Watchdog for Voters

SINCE the war, this country has been experiencing the greatest revival of civic interest in our lifetime.[1]

It is just as true today as it was 150 years ago that if we are going to make democracy work, we must begin where neighbors share their problems and talk them over with each other. This is exactly what the Citizens' Plan E Association of Worcester—the group which secured for Worcester the council-manager plan, with the proportional representation method of voting—is doing.

The council-manager plan is a modern, orderly, responsible system of handling public affairs so as to provide the services which the people want with a minimum of waste, dishonesty, favoritism and other faults which plague politics and weaken people's faith in democracy. This plan, with its lines of responsibility clearly defined, makes it easy for the citizen to keep his finger on the pulse of city government and thus secure efficient management if he is on the alert. Whether the plan fulfills all its potentialities for democratic and efficient government, or falls victim to politics, bossism, selfish interests—or mere mediocrity—is up to the voter.

There will always be those who place self-interest above the welfare of their city, who will harass any regime. Self-centered individuals who crave power for spoils' sake, supporters of vice rings and gangsters, grafters of all kinds, have tried to sabotage good government. They say that the council-manager plan is undemocratic, and the movement a dictatorship.

If such forms of attack and misinformation are gullibly accepted, the voters will play into the very hands of those who are deliberately working against or sabotaging good government. It is to combat these influences that voters must maintain an effective nonpartisan organization. Politicians organize for success, to secure jobs and city contracts for themselves and their friends. Citizen groups must organize, not for selfish profit but for the general good of the community.

A citizens' group has two chief functions: (1) To keep public opinion intelligent and informed; (2) to encourage, endorse and support present and future leaders of, and for, good municipal government.

By means of organization, citizens can join forces to: (1) find out how well city government is working; (2) help elect to the council and school committee capable candidates; (3) defend the charter from attacks of self-seeking politicians; (4) insist upon principles of nonpartisan and efficient administration; (5) support and defend officials so long as they adhere to such principles; and (6) sponsor and secure adoption of needed improvements in the structure of city government.

The Citizens' Plan E Association of Worcester is a nonpartisan organization working to improve city government. Its members are citizens who are concerned with the good of the whole city. Similar groups exist in many council-manager cities because

[1] This article is composed of portions of an address before the first statewide conference of the Massachusetts Council-Manager Association, held at Clark University, Worcester, May 19.

such organizations help guarantee that the reform which has taken place will be permanent.

Since it would not be feasible for every voter to call regularly at the mayor's office with a list of what the city needs, the association acts as the middle man between city hall and its members. It provides the central point where citizens can register their dissatisfaction with a city service and maintains close relations with the press so that news of city affairs is promptly carried to the people.

The association endorses a slate of worthy candidates for the council and for the school committee and then works for their election. This is not a new idea developed in Worcester. Cincinnati, Richmond, Cambridge and Quincy (Massachusetts), Seattle,[2] Detroit, New York, Pittsburgh and other cities have associations that provide a guide for voters.

Endorsing Candidates

In Worcester certain qualifications are set up by an endorsement committee for choosing candidates. These include integrity, ability to do the job well, fairness, public spirit. Endorsed candidates must be advocates of the Plan E charter in its entirety. All interviews with candidates for public office are open to the public and such an invitation is extended through the local newspapers. The association campaigns for these endorsed candidates, using every modern means short of a vaudeville show to stir a large body of citizens to their responsibilities as voters.

What are the active members of the citizens' group looking for from all this civic endeavor—political office or personal favors? The answer is frankly, "Nothing." The citizens' group has no personal axe to grind nor person gain to reap. The motive which an mates the organization is the gener good of the city as a whole.

Our charter group is doing ever thing it can to help the citizen becom an informed, intelligent, effective vote It urges the unregistered to regist in time to vote and endeavors to st the voter to action.

Our publicity campaign include newspaper advertising and news item in the daily papers and in the foreig language papers. Circulars and pampl lets are printed and distributed. Radi broadcasts, spot announcements an other essentials of present-day appe to voters are used. Our Speakers' Bu reau prepares qualified speakers fo meetings, for technical and patriot organizations, labor unions, parish an church groups, parent-teachers' group women's organizations, civic club improvement societies and neighbo hood groups.

Such a successful type of citizen organization, the City Charter Com mittee, has been operating in Cinci nati for over 25 years. It selects an endorses a slate of candidates. fights for their election. At electio time it assigns workers to every pr cinct and block in the city, who business it is to know every voter, inform them of the issues, to sho them the importance of electing to th council those men who are endorse by the group, and to see that eve available citizen votes on election da

Why is a citizens' organization esse tial? The answer is, "Government a human equation, dependent upon i human components." A municip government seized by self-seeking po ticians can only develop unsatisfactor evil results. A municipal governme conscientiously managed by ale civic-minded citizens must by its ov integrity develop good, sound, cle and efficient management of city affai

[2]See "They Don't Vote for Ghosts," by C. A. Crosser, the REVIEW, June 1951, page 294.

The power of a voter as a lone individual is weak, but when he unites with other lone individuals, to form a solid front, his weak individual power becomes a vitally strong power. Such organizations insure an alert and informed citizenry, prepared at all times to get the best possible service from their charter, and to defend their right to self-government against any and all attacks. If good government is worth saving, it is worth working for.

ROBERT B. SERVICE, JR.
Citizens' Plan E Association
of Worcester

Activity in Seattle

The Seattle Municipal League is aiming at a membership of 5,000. Members have been sent "pink slips" with the request that they send in the names of at least five persons who may be solicited. "People appreciate being suggested for membership," says the league, "for by your action you are saying that you consider him or her as a responsible citizen." By the end of July some 2,000 suggestions had been received.

Seattle league president, Paul R. Green, in his annual report stated that league membership had increased from 3,140 to 4,423 and summarized the work of the league and its committees. Some 116,000 league reports on candidates—75,000 primary and 71,000 general election—were circulated, says Mr. Green.

Because of its growing interest in county government and the development of its suburban area, the board of trustees of the Seattle league has recommended that its official name be changed to the "Municipal League of Seattle and King County." This and other changes in the articles of incorporation and by-laws are being submitted to members.

"How City Served You in 1950 and What It Cost" is the Seattle league's boiled down version of the finances and services of the city. "Five minutes' reading will give league readers a pretty good idea as to what their city cost to run in 1950, what services they received and whether or not these showed improvement over the preceding year," says the report.

A number of the league's members took part in the program of the sixteenth annual Institute of Government held on the University of Washington campus July 9-13.

* * *

Hennepin County Studied

A committee of the Hennepin County Women's Republican Club finds that county government has been increasingly complicated by new functions pushed upon it by state and federal governments. The study "is entirely nonpartisan business," announces the group. "We are not out to get anyone. We just want to find out the whys of the county setup. By passing on the facts we assemble we hope to make a contribution to good government." The great difficulty about the county, the study points out, "is that it has no definite head. There is no top administrator—like the state with its governor, the city or village with its mayor." The committee has already published one pamphlet.

* * *

Committees at Work

The Milwaukee *City Club News* for July carries a review of the club's work for the past year, prepared by its president, John Visser, in which one section is devoted to the work of committees.

In asking its members to become active members of one or more committees, the Seattle Municipal League announces that last year 850 members were enrolled in committees of which some 300 were regular in attendance. The 23 standing and special committees held 201 meetings with a total atten-

dance of 2,291. They adopted 71 motions on recommendations for civic betterment based on carefully assembled facts and observations, according to the *Seattle Municipal News.*

The Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League and the Portland (Oregon) City Club have announced new committee chairmen for the forthcoming season.

* * *

Women Voters View State Affairs

The Iowa League of Women Voters has adopted as its program for the coming year, "Study of relations between state and municipal governments in Iowa, with special emphasis on home rule."

"Needed! A Modern Vehicle," headlines the League of Women Voters of Connecticut in its campaign for a new state constitution. "Connecticut's constitution, like the ox cart, is historically interesting, is still running, but needs to be streamlined to keep pace with twentieth century problems."

The League of Women Voters of Ohio, as well as local leagues, is represented on the Citizens Committee on the Ohio Constitution. "Ohio can't afford to wait twenty years to go modern," says a brochure of the state league. "The time has come again for Ohio voters to give some heavy thought to their state constitution." Ohio votes once every twenty years on constitutional revision and the next vote is scheduled for November 1952.

* * *

Activity in Massachusetts

Massachusetts local civic organizations are busily preparing for fall elections under council-manager charters only recently adopted.

In Medford the Plan E Civic Association is striving to increase its membership and to educate the voters on the council-manager plan and proportional representation, in use for the election of the city council and school committee. A membership drive, wi 100 workers aiding, took place recen in Ward 6. Every home in the wa was visited and given a brochure e plaining the city's system of gover ment.

The Haverhill Civic Associati prepared a series of three articles pu lished by the Haverhill *Gazette* givi information on the background a history of council-manager gover ment, which will go into effect Haverhill at the end of the year. "A alert, aggressive and progressive ci zens' committee can make a counc manager form of government sucee declares the last article.

A circular issued by the New Bost Committee urges Bostonians to "J now to insure Boston's prosperc future." NBC, as it is known local will endorse and support candida for the city council, elected in Nove ber, which will inaugurate the n charter adopted at the polls in 19 "The New Boston Committee inter to keep the voters supplied with t facts of this election, through for discussions by civic leaders, through series of public meetings and throu the distribution of factual up-to-d bulletins," says the leaflet.

* * *

Labor Studies Its C

Several times in recent months so 30 members of the United Automob Workers (CIO) have met for two a a half days in an institute on c problems. They listen to city offici attend meetings of city boards a commissions, make visits to city stitutions and take part in semin with experts on local affairs. It is hop that graduates of the institutes will come part of a continuing cityw union committee on municipal affa and take the lead in their neighb hoods and in local unions in polit activity to make the city a bet community. If the institutes contin

the citywide committee over a year will number about four hundred persons.

* * *

Citizenship Celebrations

The Chamber of Commerce of Hagerstown, Maryland, honored the "new citizens" of Washington County by presenting those reaching 21 or becoming naturalized between June 1, 1950, and May 31, 1951, with a Certificate of Recognition of Citizenship Responsibility" and a copy of the Bill of Rights. New citizens were notified by press, radio and direct mailings of eight meetings held in their honor and were asked to attend one of them. A total of 184 received the certificate and over a thousand people attending the meetings heard speakers emphasize the privilege and duty of voting and the responsibilities of citizenship.

Civitan International established May 13-20 as Good Citizenship Observance Week. All clubs were urged to plan citizenship projects to terminate during the period with presentation of citizenship awards.

* * *

Civic Awards

The board of trustees of the Cleveland Citizens League selected Alfred A. Benesch, a member of the Cleveland Board of Education for the past 25 years, to receive the league's annual Commendation Award for Outstanding Service in Local Public Office. Mr. Benesch is the twelfth person to receive the award, established five years ago.

George McAneny, former president of the National Civil Service League and now one of its vice presidents, has been presented with the Medal of Honor of the New York Municipal Art Society for "public service in the highest tradition of American democracy."

* * *

Flory Memorial Fund

The Citizens League of Cleveland and the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research have jointly established the Walter L. Flory Memorial Civic Research Fund in honor of Mr. Flory who died recently. The fund will be used "to carry out the kind of governmental project in which Walter Flory would have been interested," reports *Greater Cleveland,* bulletin of the league. Mr. Flory, a member of the City Planning Commission, was former president and former director of the Citizens League and a member of its board of trustees from 1923 to 1951.

* * *

Civic Potpourri

The Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) devoted two recent issues of its *Civic Bulletin* to a report on proposals before the Pennsylvania legislature on which the club's legislative committee has taken action.

The Lake County Civic League of Waukegan, Illinois, has conducted a survey of the fiscal problems and general procedures of the city of Zion at the request of its city council. Numerous recommendations have been made including installation of a police record system, modern budgeting and appropriation techniques, methods of billing water customers, remodeling of city hall, etc.

The Citizens Union of New York has urged the city council to enact price control enforcement bills now before it in an effort to prevent the start of black markets. The union urges enactment so that "the city's enforcement machinery may be added to the federal machinery in the fight to hold the line against rising prices and inflation."

The Warren, Ohio, Charter League has voted to circulate petitions to place the election of a fifteen-member commission to draft a new charter on the November ballot.

A nonpartisan community campaign in Miami Beach, Florida, carried on for eighteen days, resulted in a 40 per cent increase in voter registration for the

city. The campaign was spearheaded by the *Florida Sun.*

* * *

Forums and Workshops

The Civic Advisory Council of Toronto devoted most of its 28-page *News Bulletin* for April to its first annual conference on local government, held April 12. Addresses and discussions are reported in brief. Full text of a few of the articles are published, including "Some Reflections on Research Work with Citizens' Committees," by Albert Rose, of the School of Social Work of the University of Toronto; "The Program of the Junior Chamber of Commerce," by Thomas H. Whellams; "The Press and Local News," by Frank Tumpane, columnist for the Toronto *Globe and Mail;* and "Education in Citizenship," by H. O. Barrett, director of public relations of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, Toronto District.

The sixth annual Forum on State and Local Government at Michigan State College, met for three weeks, July 9-27. Billed as a summer course for teachers and prospective teachers of civic, government and social studies, and interested citizen groups, the forum is designed to give a broad view of the major functions and problems of state and local government in Michigan. Ten universities and government groups sponsor the forum. State and local officials, as well as teachers of political science, address the classes.

"Education for Citizenship" was the subject of a workshop held June 25-July 6 at the New Jersey State Teachers College in Upper Montclair. Intended primarily for high school teachers and administrators, the workshop is open to anyone interested in citizenship education.

Sponsored by the Bureau of Government Research and the School of Education of Rutgers University, state government institute for teacher and others interested met at the stat capitol in Trenton, New Jersey, July 9-20. State officials and politica scientists lectured. Field trips to stat institutions and offices were arranged.

* * *

Annual Meeting

Citizens' Action of Grand Rapid Michigan, heard Leonard M. Siv president of the Cincinnati City Cha ter Committee, at its annual meetin in June. Mr. Sive emphasized th need for block by block organization i civic campaigns and answered man questions. He is reported to have le his listeners with "enthusiasm an eager to get at it."

Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati cit councilman, addressed a luncheo meeting of the Hamilton County (Cin cinnati) Good Government League o "Moral Foundations of Government. Mr. Taft discussed the gambling situa tion in his city and elsewhere an answered audience questions.

* * *

Strictly Persona

The Citizens Union of Yonkers ha elected Mrs. Edith P. Welty, forme mayor and councilwoman, as its ex ecutive chairman, and Emmett Burk former councilman, as executive vic chairman. The union has authorized it executive committee to proceed with campaign for city charter revision i 1952 to provide nonpartisan election o the city council at large.

Ben B. Ehrlichman, a member of it board of trustees since 1942, has bee elected president of the Seattle Munic pal League. He succeeds Paul Gree

The Milwaukee City Club has electe Leigh Hunt as its president for th forthcoming year. John Visser is th outgoing president.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Newspaper Investigates Housing Scandal

Jersey Reporting Team Turns in First-Class Research Job

NEWSPAPERS and reporters are not listed in the *GRA Directory* but they do a good deal of the most useful governmental research and they do a great deal better than most of the bureaus in presenting it to the public. Many a bureau report could do its job better with the help of a good newspaper photographer and the newspaperman's knack of giving punch and vitality to a story by the use of examples and interviews. Interviewing is a common tool of governmental research, but you would never guess it from the style of the typical report.

A good example of newspaper research is a remarkable series of articles by a team of reporters for the *Bergen Evening Record* (Hackensack, New Jersey) exposing scandalous official, civic and private negligence that has made many new housing developments incipient or actual suburban slums. Ten of the series of fourteen articles, which began May 17, were written by Leonard Goldblatt, the rest by Carl F. Jellinhaus, J. William Hoth and Fred S. Muerer. The articles are profusely illustrated with gruesome pictures of ungraded yards, mud holes in place of streets and attractive housewives baling out broken septic tanks and sewage infested basements.

The central conclusion of the series is succinctly expressed in the head for the fourteenth article: "Construction of Shoddy Housing Will Go Only When Local Government Gets Going."

While not pulling punches with respect to failure of federal agencies and private contractors to live up to their responsibilities, the report finds that "if in the future there is to be any halt to downright swindling of families seeking to realize the great American dream of owning a house and lot . . . then the prevention and cure must come principally from the municipalities themselves."

Failures found by the investigators at the municipal level range from downright corruption of officials who profit directly or indirectly from dealings with developers and builders to the lack of civic foresight which has left many municipalities without adequate up-to-date planning, zoning, health and building regulations or provision for their enforcement.

A County Problem

The report does not comment specifically on the implications of the fact that Bergen County, New Jersey, the area covered by the investigation, is divided up into 70 municipalities, at least half of which have less than 5,000 population according to the 1950 census.[1] No student of the metropolitan area problem has yet demonstrated how to get that many small municipalities, sharing the responsibility for what is essentially a continuous residential area, to meet the challenge of an area-wide building boom. As the *Bergen Evening Record* points out editorially, "You can't quarantine . . . squalor. There's no ghetto wall high enough to stay wind-borne pollution. We are all a part of the whole; the best governed, the most fastidiously self-governed of us, are confronted with the dangers which face the most unfortunate, exploited and neglected."

[1] See "Escape to the Suburbs," (editorial) the REVIEW, April 1951, page 184.

The report suggests that "requiring all builders to submit all plans to the county planning board would eliminate many of the grievous errors of the past."

Mississippi Council Reports to the People

The Mississippi Economic Council believes in taking the findings of its research right to the people who cast the votes and pay the bills that make local government run. Accordingly it is planning a series of 33 meetings over the state in October to tell the average citizen as graphically as possible what can be done to improve municipal financing and administration.

The meat of the presentations will come from a report of the council's committee on taxation entitled *An Analysis of Income, Services and Operation of 24 Representative Mississippi Cities with Recommendations* (45 pages, ten tables, 40 recommendations). The cities range from 1,299 to 41,709 in population. Questionnaires were used to gather facts.

Another project undertaken by the council, in cooperation with the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Mississippi, resulted in a report entitled *Municipal Organization in Mississippi: A Review and Evaluation of the Forms of Municipal Government with Special Reference to the Council-Manager Plan* (199 pages). The report was prepared by the bureau working closely with a special council-manager study committee of the council.

The Mississippi Economic Council was organized a little over two years ago "to promote social, civic and economic development in Mississippi." It is composed of some 2,000 business and professional leaders in Mississippi. Some 42 local chambers of commerce and 24 statewide trade and professional associations are affiliated with it.

Bureau Not

The Municipal Technical Advisor Service of the University of Tennesse has recently begun publication of i *Federal News Digest*. The new per odical covers matters involving federa municipal relationships and is designe "to bring to city officials' attention condensed digest of federal directive rules, regulations and policies affecti municipal affairs."

In its February and March issu of the *Toledo Municipal News*, t Municipal League of Toledo review the eighteen points of its five-ye Program for Progress, announced year ago. It covers major fiscal policie administrative modernization and trai ing, metropolitan problems and capit improvement needs.

Citizens Research Council of Mic igan is the new name of the recent merged Bureau of Government Research (Detroit) and Michig Public Expenditure Survey. T name recognizes "the fact that mo and more state and local government problems have become so intertwin as to be inseparable." A counselli service, particularly for Michigan ci zen groups, will be developed.

* * *

Annual Meetin

The fifth Annual Kansas Peace C ficers Training School was held at t University of Kansas July 23-28. T curriculum included the regular ba course for police officers as well advanced courses in police administ tion and police science.

On July 9-13 the University Washington held the Sixteenth A nual Institute of Government spo sored by its Bureau of Governmen Research and Services in cooperati with the Division of Adult Educati and Extension Services. Progr topics included local action in mocracy, public library administrati

vil rights, public recreation, planning and law enforcement.

* * *

Bureau Reports

The Connecticut Public Expenditure Council has issued its *Proposed Operating Program 1951-52*, which is "designed to achieve the maximum efficiency and economy in government consistent with good service and to avoid the imposition of new and higher taxes on the people of Connecticut."

Annual reports have been received from the New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, *Eighteenth Annual Report*; Duluth Governmental Research Bureau, *Thirtieth Annual Report*; The Stark County Tax League (Canton, Ohio), *Annual Report July 1, 1951.*

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Air Pollution

Air Pollution Control. By Stanley Mosk and John F. McCarty. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 38 pp. $1.

Assessments

Explanation of Assessment and Reassessment. Houston 2, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1951. 26 pp.

Improving Assessments. How Private Citizens and Public Officials Can Improve Property Tax Assessments. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* July 1951. 4 pp.

Budgets

Budgets for 1952. Des Moines, Taxpayers Association, *Civic Flashes,* July 16, 1951. 1 p.

Comparison of 1950-1951 City Budgets. County Expenditures and Budgets Compared. Sheriffs' Budgets Show Sharpest Increases. Helena, Montana Taxpayers' Association, *Montana Taxpayer,* June 1951. 1 p. each.

It's Your Move! 1951 Budget Data Sheets. A Compilation of the Expenditures in Wyoming for County Governments, First Class Cities, First Class School Districts. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, 1951. 22 pp.

Constitutions

Modernizing Indiana's Constitution. By Louis E. Lambert and E. B. McPheron. (Reprinted from *Indiana Law Journal,* Winter 1951.) Bloomington, Indiana University, Department of Government, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 22 pp.

Ohio's Constitution in the Making. By Lauren A. Glosser. Columbus 15, Ohio Program Commission, 1950. 12 pp.

Defense

Civil Defense for Florida 1951. By W. F. Larsen and Robert Fuquay. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1951. 13 pp.

The Researcher and Civil Defense. By Robert H. Blundred. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* May-June 1951. 2 pp.

Education

Buffalo School Survey. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* June 7, 1951. 3 pp.

The Process of Selecting a High School Site. Waterbury 2, Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* May 9, 1951. 3 pp.

Proposed Reorganization of the Dade County Public School System. What's Wrong with School Budgeting in Dade County? Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *Research Memo,* January and February 1951. 9 and 7 pp. respectively.

San Francisco School Costs Highest Among Major Cities. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* June 29, 1951. 2 pp.

Secondary School Costs Per A. D. A. Larger High School and All Junior College Districts of California 1948-49

and 1949-50 (table). Current Expenditures Per A.D.A. Unified School Districts in California 1948-49 and 1949-50 (table). A.D.A. Costs in Elementary Schools 1948-49 and 1949-50 Data Compared. By Maxine M. McSweyn. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* June 1951. 4, 2, and 10 pp. respectively, 25 cents.

Should State Funds Be Used to Promote Federal Subsidy of School Construction? Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1951. 5 pp.

State Aid for Education in New Jersey, 1947-1951. Newark 2, New Jersey Citizens Tax Study Foundation, 1951. 14 pp. Tables.

Elections and Voting

How Toronto Voted. Toronto 5, the Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* May 23, 1951. 7 pp. Tables.

Fire Insurance

Fire Insurance on State-owned Buildings in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* June 1951. 4 pp.

Forests

Community Forests: A Municipal Asset. By the Municipal Technical Advisory Service in collaboration with the Division of Forestry Relations, Tennessee Valley Authority. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, MTAS, *Tennessee Town & City,* May 1951. 5 pp.

Conservation of Forest Resources. By Kenneth Decker. Berkeley 4, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 30 pp. $1.

Hospitals

Schedule of Fees Proposed for Emergency Hospital Services. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* June 26, 1951. 2 pp.

Survey of the Nevada Hospital for Mental Diseases. By the Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau. Carson City, State Printing Office, 1950. 122 pp.

Initiative and Referendum

Direct Legislation: An Appraisal a a Suggestion. By Joseph G. LaPalo bara and Charles B. Hagan. Washir ton 6, D. C., American Political S ence Association, *American Politi Science Review,* June 1951. 22 pp. $2.

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Nine Proposals Submitted by t Legislature. (Including reports c Printing Requirements of State Ag cies, Statewide Building Code a Tax Levy Limitations Laws.) Topel Kansas Legislative Council, Resear Department, 1951. 57 pp.

Summary of Tennessee's 1951 Pub Laws. By Margaret Pouder, Lu McMurry and Dorothy Tucker. Na ville 3, Tennessee State Planning Co mission, *Tennessee Planner,* April-Ju 1951. 64 pp.

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Final Report of the Citizens Ad sory Committee on Municipal Affa Alameda, California, the Committ 1951. 68 pp.

A Manual of City Government Michigan. By Claude R. Tharp. A Arbor, University of Michigan, Ins tute of Public Administration, Bur of Government, 1951. 173 pp.

Poughkeepsie Town Governme A Survey Report on the Governmer Structure and Operations of the To of Poughkeepsie, New York. Pou keepsie, Area Development Ass ation, 1951. 32 pp. Maps.

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Municipal Off-Street Parking in California Cities. Los Angeles League of California Cities, *Wes City,* March 1951. 6 pp.

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Qualifications for Public Office. B falo 2, Municipal Research Bur *Just a Moment,* June 14, 1951. 2 pp

Public Safety

An Integrated Public Safety Dep ment. By H. K. Hunter. Chicago

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Financing Local Public Works. By ugene C. Lee and Stanley Scott. erkeley, University of California, Bu-au of Public Administration, 1951. pp. $1.

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Service and Security. Municipal Re-rement in Tennessee. By Fred A. ewis and Thomas Payne. Knoxville, niversity of Tennessee, Bureau of ublic Administration and Municipal echnical Advisory Service, 1951. 150 Tables.

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Special Districts in Louisiana. By mmett Asseff. Baton Rouge, Lou-siana State University, Bureau of overnment Research, 1951. 98 pp.

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An Everyman's Guide to the Report f the Commission to Study State Gov-rnment. Carbondale, Southern Il-inois University, Government Depart-ment, 1951. 23 pp. Illus.

The Organization of Utah State overnment. Salt Lake City 1, Utah oundation, *Research Report,* July 1951. pp. Chart.

Property Inventory and Control. (Staff Report No. 20.) Detroit 26, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1951. 20 pp.

Reflections on State Reorganizations. By John A. Perkins. Washington 6, American Political Science Association, *American Political Science Review,* June 1951. 10 pp. $2.50.

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A Survey of State-owned Automobiles in Nevada. Carson City, Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1950. 17 pp.

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First City Survey Report. City Survey II. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* May 24 and June 21, 1951. 4 pp. each.

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Appropriations by the Kansas Legislature—1951 Session. A Summary Explanation of the Principal Funds from Which the Budgeted Appropriations Were Made and a Comparison of the Related Appropriations of the 1949 Session. By John E. Burke. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, 1951. v, 17 pp.

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Fiscal Problems Facing the 1951 Legislature. A Series: No. 1—Some Basic Facts and Trends, No. 2—Public Assistance in Pennsylvania, No. 3—The State "Authority" Programs, No. 4—Bonded Debt of the Commonwealth, No. 5—The Proposed State Budget for 1951-53. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, *State Affairs Bulletin,* November 10, December 30, 1950, February 15, March 9 and 26, 1951. 8, 7, 4, 7 and 11 pp. respectively.

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The Opportunity to Collect Some Bad Accounts. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, *It's Your Business,* June 1951. 6 pp.

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Manual of Village Government Michigan. By Claude R. Tharp. A Arbor, University of Michigan, B reau of Government, Institute Public Administration, 1951. 118 p

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A New Zoning Law for Providen Providence 3, Governmental Resear Bureau, July 1951. 2 pp.

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The Municipal Year Book 1951. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago 37, International City Managers' Association, 1951. x, 588 pp. $10.

Once again the editors of this "most useful single reference book" have expanded the volume's usefulness by the inclusion of new and vital information on individual city governments. Important new features include data on public housing, city purchasing practices, building inspection, changes in city revenues and police-fire clothing allowances.

Most of the usual features of the volume have been retained and brought up to date, including data on form of city government, salaries of councilmen and chief municipal officials, pay rates for selected city jobs, changes in city areas, number of city employees and payroll, personnel organization, working conditions, retirement systems, city planning data, financial statistics, nonproperty taxes, parking rates, fire and police data, directories of city officials, and model municipal ordinances. Summary articles in each field of municipal endeavor review the significant events of the past year.

Presented for each city of more than 10,000 are the 1940 and 1950 census figures and the per cent increase or decrease, together with analyses of urban population changes and population changes in metropolitan areas. Metropolitan areas and the so-called "urbanized" areas as defined by the Census Bureau are listed with summaries of developments in selected areas over the past ten years.

For each of the subjects covered, the *Year Book* lists sources of information, selected standard references, and complete lists of new books and pamphlets published in 1950, with a catalogue of model ordinances.

Goals for Political Science. Report of the Committee for the Advancement of Teaching, American Political Science Association. New York, William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1951. xxiv, 319 pp. $3.50.

In this interesting volume a committee of the American Political Science Association reviews for the first time since 1930 the practices of instruction in political science in 252 institutions and finds enlargement and progress with some spots very good and others not so good. A series of rather general recommendations is provided for conscientious, undramatic self-examination of the machinery which turns out 7,000 political science degrees a year, as well as the annual crop of doctors, most of whom are dedicated to teaching. As long as educators continue to be dissatisfied with the state of education, education will be safe in their hands!

R. S. C.

American Government Today. By Ernest B. Fincher, John H. Ferguson and Dean E. McHenry. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951. viii, 583 pp. $3.20.

A high school text with a fresh attack beginning with the nearest impacts of government and spreading outward to the national scene and the United Nations with a minimum of dry legal fact. Copiously illustrated.

State and Local Government in the United States. By William Vernon Holloway. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951. ix, 460 pp. $3.75.

Written with easy freedom, this travelogue moves swiftly, despite the tight packing with facts, and is a shade more colorful than most texts and perhaps, therefore, more likely to stick

in the memories of students. Without becoming a critique, it satisfactorily endorses the programs of the National Municipal League and, incidentally, quotes this REVIEW, in text or footnotes, in 128 places. It provides the whole text of the League's *Model State Constitution* (as do several other recent text books) and includes the unusual feature of a list of available films to illuminate each chapter.

State and Local Government in the United States. By Cullen B. Gosnell and Lynwood M. Holland. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951. xvi, 619 pp. $6.65.

Comparisons being invidious, we will not try to determine whether this volume is better or worse than the other of the identical title by William Vernon Holloway, reviewed in these columns. It seems more subjective with its chapters on such subjects as states' rights or the role of the state in the union and a little more legalistic.

Understanding Politics. A Practical Guide for Women. By Louise M. Young. New York, Pellegrini & Cudahy, 1950. 330 pp. $3.50.

A lucid and readable description of how women can be useful in the American political scene and what they need to know, colloquially told by a former vice president of the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters.

Toward New Towns for America. By Clarence S. Stein. Chicago, Public Administration Service (agents for the University Press of Liverpool), 1951. 245 pp. illus. $5.

More than any other American architect, the author of this beautiful book, and his late associate Henry Wright, kept their perceptive eyes on the dooryard of the home and the safety of the children therein. This involved twisting whole towns into new inventive street and land use patterns wherein childr could roam without encountering spee ing automobiles even where, as Los Angeles, there was one car f every two and a half persons. Radburn was built and influenced sequence of other planned communiti constituting an experience on whi Mr. Stein is the best American a thority and pioneer.

R. S.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Annexation

Laws of the States Relating to A nexation of County Territory. Part The Summaries; Part II, Statut Compiled by Jo Desha Lucas a Robert Desha Lucas. Charlottesvil League of Virginia Counties, 195 52 and 406 pp. respectively.

Assessing

Proceedings of the Fifth Ann Short Course for Municipal Assessi Officers. University of Michigan, D cember 13, 14 and 15, 1950. Sponsor by the Institute of Public Administ tion, Extension Service of the Univ sity of Michigan, Michigan Municij League, Michigan State Tax Comm sion and the Municipal Assessors A sociation of Michigan. Ann Arb University of Michigan, Bureau Government, 1951. 46 pp.

City Manager

The Cambridge City Manager. Frank C. Abbott. Washington 5, D. Committee on Public Administrat Cases, 1951. xii, 91 pp.

City Planning

City Planning. A Selection of Re ings in Its Theory and Practice. William Anderson, George Filipe Robert T. Jones, Asher N. Christen and Roland S. Valie. Edited

Theodore Caplow. Minneapolis 15, Burgess Publishing Company, 1950. 226 pp. $3.75.

Defense

Emergency Defense Activities Handbook. (A guide to those federal agencies, newly created or long established, whose functions are devoted directly or indirectly to mobilization and defense.) Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, 1951. 115 pp. 25 cents.

How Can We Pay for Defense. By Maxwell S. Stewart. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1951, 32 pp. 10 cents.

How to Prepare Your Plant for Atomic Attack. Belleville, New Jersey, Walter Kidde & Company, 1951. 30 pp. Illus.

Directories

Indiana at War. A Directory of Hoosier Civilians Who Held Positions of Responsibility in Official, Volunteer and Cooperating War-Time Organizations. (Vol. IV in a proposed series of ten volumes entitled Indiana in World War II.) By Lynn W. Turner and Heber P. Walker. Bloomington, Indiana War History Commission, 1951. xxi, 1330 pp.

Governors

Proceedings of the Governors' Conference 1950. Forty-second Annual Meeting at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, July 19, 20, 21, 1950. Chicago 37, The Governors' Conference, 1951. xi, 187 pp.

Inflation

Canada Tries Indirect Control of Inflation. By J. R. Petrie. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, May-June 1951. 12 pp. 50 cents.

The CED Program to Control Inflation. By Marion B. Folsom. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1951. 14 pp.

Municipal Government

Creating Better Cities. A Complete Report on the Third Businessmen's Conference on Urban Problems, November 20 and 21, 1950. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1951. 191 pp. $1.

Cities and Towns of Illinois. A Handbook of Community Facts. By Karl B. Lohmann. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1951. ix, 110 pp.

Neighborhoods

Neighborhood Reclamation. A Working Guide for Local Programs. By the Urban Land Institute. Washington 6, D. C., National Association of Real Estate Boards, 1951. 16 pp.

A Plan to Improve Neighborhoods. St. Louis, City Plan Commission, Division of Building and Inspection and Division of Health, 1951. 8 pp.

Parking

Parking in Vancouver. By Tempest deWolf. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, June 1951. 4 pp.

Philanthropy

Philanthropic Giving. By F. Emerson Andrews. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1950. 318 pp. $3.

Public Employees

The Labor Problem in the Public Service. A Study in Political Pluralism. By Morton Robert Godine. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951. xii, 305 pp. $5.

Salaries

1950 Municipal Salaries and Wages. Colorado Cities of the Second Class. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, 1951. 53 pp.

Salaries of North Carolina County Employees. Compiled by Donald B. Hayman. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 1950. 15 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Facts and Figures on Government Finance 1950-1951. New York 20, The Tax Foundation, 1950. xiv, 209 pp.

Payments to Local Units of Government 1950-1951. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1951. 13 pp.

Summary of State Government Finances in 1950. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 17 pp.

Tax Exemption of Farm Cooperatives. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* March-April 1951. 12 pp. 50 cents.

Tax Reform Proposals in Great Britain. By Mary E. Murphy. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* July-August 1951. 16 pp. 50 cents.

Tidelands

Symposium on the Texas "Tidelands" Case. By Roscoe Pound, James Wm. Moore, etc. Waco, Texas, *Baylor Law Review,* Winter 1951. 221 pp. $1.

Year Books

The American Year Book. A Record of Events and Progress Year 1950. Edited by S. Michaelis. New York, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1951. xxi, 856 pp. $15.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 434)

replaced by the House of Councillors numbering 250, 100 elected at large and 150 from local constituencies, using the 46 prefectures as election districts (each electing from two to eight councillors). Members serve for six years and ha the membership is elected at thre year intervals. Voters vote for o candidate at large and one in t prefectural district.

Prefectural assemblies are chosen certain city and county districts a where the districts return two or mo members the single nontransferab vote holds. Cities, towns and villag may create districts for the election their governing assemblies but on five cities (not including Tokyo, whi is a metropolitan district having t status of a prefecture) have done s The others utilize election at large the single nontransferable vote.

Probably the greatest change is t direct election of governors and ma ors, formerly appointed. Election co missions at all levels, formerly a pointed, are also now elected, as a special administrative commissio such as boards of education, agricu tural and fisheries commissions. Wi the increase in the number of electi officers, electoral campaigns are mo complicated and more frequent. Ele tions for governors and mayors a subject to a run-off contest betwe the two highest if no candidate ge more than three-eighths of the votes.

The referendum and recall have be provided. On certain occasions a refe endum is required. Numerous uses the recall have been made, for the r moval of mayors and local assemb members, and even for the dissolutio of an entire local assembly.

ants Businessmen in Politics

rnest T. Weir, whose article "Some-ng Politics Needs" appears on page 3 of this issue, has been noted not y as a successful steelman but also a strong proponent of the private, npetitive economic system and an ressive champion of the business-n's right to participate in public airs.

hairman of National Steel Corpora-n, Mr. Weir is the only steelman in United States who is the chief offi- and also the founder of a major el company—the country's fifth gest. He has an unusual record in or-management relations and, in his n view, this is probably his principal hievement.

Ir. Weir got his first job as an office with a wiremaking company at e dollars a week. He advanced idly through positions of responsi-ty until, at 28, he became general nager of the largest plant of the erican Sheet and Tin Plate Com-ny.

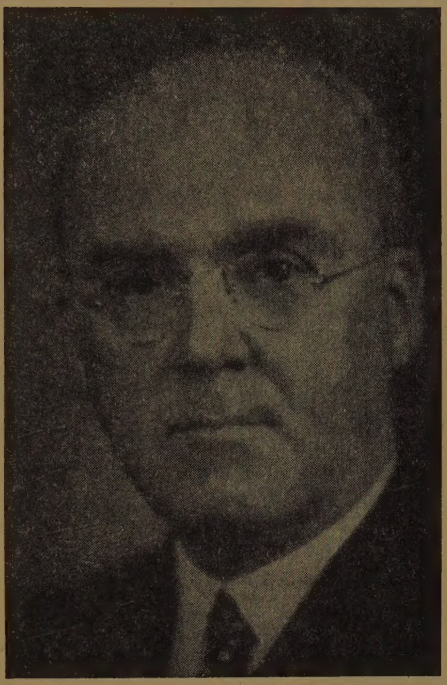
Mr. Weir is well known for his op-sition to the trend toward govern-nt controls. He is keenly interested international affairs and has made ee visits to Europe since the end of war to obtain information from siness and financial leaders of tain and the continent.

In addition to National Steel Cor-ration, Mr. Weir is officer or director numerous business organizations and active in the work of cultural, educa-nal, philanthropic and civic institu-ns.

SEMINAR FOR RYUKYUANS

(Continued from page 393)

es, to pay for education and other vices deemed vital to the nation.



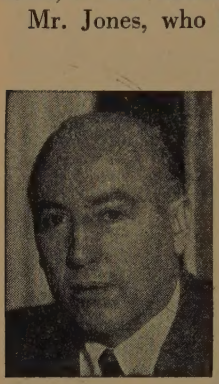
Members of the Ryukyuan group were: Shuhei Higa, chairman of Interim Ryukyuan Advisory Council; Atsuo Yamashiro, assistant governor of Okinawa; Shobu Funakoshi, vice chairman of Interim Ryukyuan Advisory Council; Choke Chinen, director of Justice Department, Okinawa Gunto; Kenshin Nakamura, police commissioner, Okinawa; Choei Matsushima, judge, Yaeyama District Court; Ryojin Higa, attorney, Okinawa Civil Administration; Minesato Ikebata, president, Bank of the Ryukyus and Okinawa Chamber of Commerce and Industry; Choei Madambashi, chief, Financial Supervision Section, Okinawa Gunto Government.

Most of the group were educated in Japanese universities and have held responsible public positions. Three are former school teachers.

Jones Named Berlin HICOG Chief

Howard P. Jones, former League secretary, has been appointed director of HICOG (Office of U. S. High Commissioner for Germany) Berlin Element, it was announced July 25.

Mr. Jones, who has been deputy director and ECA representative for Berlin and for several months acting director, also becomes deputy U. S. Commandant, Allied Kommandatura, the governing body of the city of Berlin.



Serving as New York State civil service commissioner and deputy state comptroller since leaving the League, Mr. Jones entered the army as a major during World War II. He was lecturer in public finance and public administration at the Charlottesville School of Military Government; head of the Public Finance Branch, SHAEF mission to Belgium; chief, Finance Branch, G-5, 9th U. S. Army; chief of the Civil Service Branch, Civil Affairs Division, OMGUS, and chief of Public Finance Branch, OMGUS.

After his honorable discharge as a colonel he remained overseas, joining the State Department as a Foreign Service Officer in 1948.

Prior to his latest appointment he served as U. S. Chief of the Finance Group of the Bipartite Control Office, which had responsibility for the supervision of all public and private finance in the Bizone of Germany before formation of the German federal government.

Quits Ads for Taxes

Wade S. Smith, who has written Taxation and Finance Department the REVIEW since 1934, is a se analyst on the municipal staff of & Bradstreet, Inc., where he follow nancial developments in cities betw the Mississippi Valley and the Pac

He terminated a budding career advertising to major in political sci at Oberlin. In 1933 he joined the tional Municipal League staff to ha the National Pay-Your-Taxes C paign, and later got a taste of fr line political action as executive se tary of a citizen group in Westche County, New York, and doing leg tive research in Albany.

His hobbies shift with the deve ing interests of his boys, fourteen eight. Model railroading is still a c petitor but he has gone through cycle from Cub Scouts to troop c mitteeman and expects to be back cubbing again with the younger In a family of musicians he is str a listener. His wife is an accompli pianist and the boys study piano w they can be torn from the bugle violin, but Mr. Smith tunes not more elaborate than the radio.